

WUG:CA  
64-0

August 19, 1926.

61-6050-1X  
61-5907-1

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
AUG 20 1926 A.M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
	FILE

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lane:-

Reference is made to your letter of the 9th instant transmitting copies of despatches from the American Consul General at Mexico City, and asking whether we have any information regarding BERTHA WOLFE.

Wolfe has been an outstanding character in the radical movement in the United States and was prominent in the investigations of the so-called Lusk Committee of the New York Legislature. He is understood to be a citizen of the United States.

He was indicted with Larkin, Fraina, McAlpert, Ballin, Cohen, Katzenberg, Citlow and Ferguson, under the New York Criminal Syndicalist Act in February, 1920. He was very prominent in the Left Wing movement, was a member of the Committee to pass on the Manifesto of the Left Wing, and was a delegate from Kings County, New York, to the conference of June 21-24, 1919. He was associate editor of the Communist World, official organ of the Communist Party of America; member of the editorial board of the Communist, official organ of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York, first issue of which appeared April 19, 1919.

A confidential report dated June 4, 1922 indicated that Wolfe and Nicholas Morowich were on the Mexican border and were in constant touch with the Third International, the Bureau in Mexico, and the Communist agitators of America.

Wolfe has written a number of articles which have appeared in the official organs of the Communist Party, including particularly the following:-

"Death brings United Front to Mexico" (The Daily Worker)  
April 26, 1924.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
JUL 15 1959

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane 2

8/19/23

"Take from Poor in Mexico to Pay Wall Street Debts"  
(The Daily Worker, November 10, 1923)

"Take the Road to the Left"  
(The Liberator, April, 1924)

"A New Page in Mexico's History"  
(The Liberator, February, 1924)

"Mexican Revolution had Big Habit of Being Successful  
Until Obregon Broke the Spell"  
(Daily Worker, February 29, 1924)

"Communists of Mexico in 2nd Congress"  
(Daily Worker, May 6, 1923)

"Pro-Political Action Wins in Mexico"  
(Daily Worker, May 26, 1923)

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

DAF:GEG

April 11, 1941

61-6050-2

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square  
New York, New York

Re: ELLA G. WOLFE;  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE;  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Under date of March 27, 1941, the names of Hans Theissen and Ilse Theissen were submitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Political Refugees. The interested persons in this matter were Fred Strauss, Fullerton, California, and Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. Information was submitted by the interested persons in this matter to the effect that Hans Theissen was a skilled mechanic and a member of the Metal Workers' Union of Germany who eventually became Secretary of the Duisburg, Germany, section of that union. It was further stated he had never belonged to any political party but was a Socialist in his beliefs. Because of Theissen's activities against the Nazi movement, he fled Germany upon Hitler's rise to power in order to save his life. He then established himself in the [redacted] district and continued to work against Nazi Germany. [redacted] subsequently fled to Paris, France, where he worked as a technical [redacted]. In 1939, he was interned at Camp Vernet where he is [redacted] at the present time. His wife, Ilse Theissen, is residing in [redacted] Meille, France.

In review of files of the Bureau it was determined that information [redacted] in the Old German section to the effect that a warrant [redacted] for Bertram D. Wolfe in New York City in connection with [redacted] investigation of the Communist Party at that point during [redacted] 1919. It is further indicated that this warrant was not served [redacted] of the fact that this subject was a citizen. It also appears [redacted] an affidavit was submitted with reference to Ella Wolfe [redacted] affiliation with the Communist Party at that time. However, [redacted] details were not set forth regarding these transactions [redacted] of the Bureau.

Mr. Tolson

Mr. E. A. Tamm

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Foxworth

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Carson

Mr. Quinn Tamm

Mr. Hendon

Mr. Tracy

Gandy

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

- 2 -

In January, 1926, one Ryoichi Kawashima, age thirty, who was described as a Japanese national, was arrested in Liverpool, England, subsequent to his arrival there on January 22, 1926, for failure to report under the Alien Act. Among his personal effects were found numerous names and addresses, as well as documents relating to the Communist Party and its activities in the United States. Among these names appeared that of Ella G. Wolfe, 632 Huroop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. The Morning Post of London, England, dated February 1, 1926, reported that Kawashima had admitted he had been a member of the Communist Party in the United States since 1923 and that he had failed to register with the police authorities after arriving at Liverpool, England, on the S. S. Winifredian. He contended he had just completed a course at Columbia University, New York City, and he was in possession of documents which showed that he was traveling to Moscow, Russia, to attend a Congress at the Eastern University. He possessed credentials from the Communist Party - U.S.A., transferring his membership from that organization to the Communist Party of Russia in addition to Communist literature and \$12,000. As a result of the above facts, he was ordered deported.

Referral/Consult

There are numerous references contained in the files of the Bureau regarding Bertram D. Wolfe and his affiliation with the Communist Party movement over an extended period of time. However, no summary is being submitted in view of the fact that it is believed



Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

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a majority of this material is already contained in the files of the New York Field Division.

Information was received in August, 1940, from a strictly confidential foreign source to the effect that J. Lovestons, who was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 and later formed the right-wing opposition and the Independent Labor League of America, was interested in obtaining affidavits to bring about the entrance into the United States of individuals then in Europe who were sympathetic toward his movement. Among the material submitted by this source was [redacted]

[redacted] a copy of which is being attached hereto.

Marceau [redacted] is Marceau Pivert who at that time was reportedly in Mexico and was endeavoring to obtain an immigration visa for the purpose of entering the United States. With reference to this individual, it is noted that he formerly resided in France but emigrated to New York City within the past year or two. Due to the fact that he did not have an immigration visa he proceeded to Mexico where he is making an effort to obtain this visa. Pivert reportedly furnished to the Independent Labor League of America in general and to J. Lovestone in particular a huge list of his European contacts. It was stated further that Pivert had been one of the leading lights of the organization started a few years ago by J. Lovestone, namely, the International Workers' Front Against War, and served Lovestone as the leader of this group in France. The International Workers' Front Against War reportedly issues a quarterly bulletin which is published in New York City by J. Lovestone's printer in the German, French, Spanish and English languages, and is distributed from that point throughout the United States, Europe and Canada.

b7D

The I.R.A. [redacted] is believed to be the International Relief Association, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City, which was located for a number of years at 20 Vesey Street, New York City. This organization, according to a confidential source, claims to be a non-partisan reliever of the victims of the Hitler terror and has managed to collect huge sums of money from the public and to get a number of innocent and unsuspecting people to permit their names to appear on its letterhead. It is further stated that

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

- 4 -

all persons who have been connected with this organization in an official or office capacity or who are at the present time so connected, are members of the Lovestone group.

In this regard, Francis A. Henson, Miss Ray Michaels, and Sheba Strunsky, the present Secretary of the International Relief Association, are specifically mentioned as members of or sympathetic to the Independent Labor League of America. It is alleged that this organization collected money which has been used by the Lovestone group to further its activities both in France and Germany and that this money is forwarded to Dr. August Thalheimer or to Heinz Brandler, both of whom fled Germany in 1933 to prevent their execution by Hitler. It is stated that, whenever Lovestone wanted to forward money to these individuals in France, he obtained it from the International Relief Association and forwarded it by bank check. On occasions, this association would send the money directly to Paris. The money was used for revolutionary activities against both the German and French Governments, the German comrades receiving their funds after the French comrades had taken what they needed from that forwarded by the Lovestone group.

With reference to the enclosed copy of correspondence, informant states that it was addressed to Ella Wolfe, who, in private life, is Mrs. Bertram D. Wolfe, she being approximately forty years of age, a Jewess and a teacher of Spanish in the New York City schools. It was stated that her husband at one time taught in the New York City schools but was suspended because of his political activities along Communist lines. In conclusion, it was stated that both were extremely active in Mexico and traveled to that country on various occasions under assumed names.

It is desired that an immediate, thorough and discreet investigation be instituted to ascertain the background, present activities and affiliations of the above-captioned subjects. As an incident to this inquiry, it is desired that material contained in the files of the New York Field Division be reviewed and that a summary thereof with reference to both subjects be set forth in the initial report in this matter. It is also suggested that informants who are well-known to the New York Field Division in matters of this character be contacted for the purpose of bringing up to date the available material pertinent to this inquiry.

Mr. Earl J. Connelley  
New York

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In view of the allegations set out hereinbefore and the suggestion that the Lovestone group in general and the subjects in particular are interested in sponsoring the entrance of persons into this country whose activities are possibly inimical to the national defense, it is desired that an initial report be submitted in this matter to arrive at the Bureau on or before April 20, 1941.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

RECEIVED  
APR 20 1941

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

April 4, 1941

EAT:DS

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Jones	✓
Mr. Mumford	✓
Mr. Quinn	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

*W. H. Cramer*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

*Ella Wolfe*

At a recent meeting of the Inter-Departmental Committee in connection with the case of Hans Theissen, the name of Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, appeared as a sponsor. A check of the Bureau files indicated that this woman in 1927 was the author of an article which appeared in "The Communist" on page 76. The Bureau files further indicate that in 1926 this woman was associated with a Japanese student who was arrested in Liverpool, England, for failure to register under the Alien Act and who was an active member of the Communist Party.

It appears possible in view of the lack of legitimate sponsorship of Hans Theissen that he is seeking entrance into the United States for an ulterior purpose. The Inter-Departmental Committee has declined to approve his application for a visa pending the receipt of additional, more complete and concise information from the President's Advisory Committee. This memorandum is being recorded, however, in order that an appropriate investigation may be initiated of the background, activities, etc. of Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

*Who is going to do it?*

Respectfully,

RECORDED & INDEXED

Edward A. Tamm

61-6050-2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
APR 24 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-107  
FIVE

MEMORANDUM

March 27, 1941

NR - Theissen, Hans

Serial No. 2161

Nationality:

Born: Jan. 11, 1906 - Duisburg, Germany

NR - Theissen, Ilse

Serial No. 2162

Nationality:

Born:

Interested Persons:

NR - Fred Strauss, Fullerton, California;

Ellis C. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

*miss with C.P.*

The Committee submits herewith the names of Hans Theissen and his wife, Ilse.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Interested persons have provided the following information concerning Mr. Theissen and his wife:

After attending technical school, Mr. Theissen became a skilled mechanic and joined the Metal Workers Union of Germany and eventually became secretary of the Duisburg section of that union. He never belonged to any political party but was Socialist in his beliefs.

By 1929 the growing Nazi influence in the factory where Mr. Theissen worked and the counter activities of the Nazi union put Mr. Theissen in the forefront of the struggle against Hitler. Clashes in the factory and throughout the city occurred so frequently that when Hitler came into power, the union ordered Mr. Theissen to flee from Germany in order to save his life. He then settled in the Saar District, where he became an active organizer for the "status quo" group which consisted of adherents of the Socialist Party and all liberals opposed to the Saar Anschluss with Germany. After the Anschluss Mr. Theissen fled to France and settled in Paris, where he worked as a technical engineer. In 1939 he was interned at Camp Vernet along with other Germans who had outstayed their residence permits in France because they had no other place to go.

Mr. Theissen is still at Camp Vernet; his wife is residing at Marseille.

*per ch*

611.111 Theissen, Hans

61-6050-2

*memo - Director*

*4/4/41*

*W. J. [unclear]*

*W. J. [unclear]*

61-6050-2	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
4	APR 19 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FIVE	

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

April 1, 1941

MEMORANDUM

RE: HANS THEISSEN  
ILSE THEISSEN

No information is available relative to Hans and Ilse Theissen, nor is there any information available relative to the interested person, Fred Strause.

Information was secured reflecting that Ella G. Wolfe, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, was the contributor of an article entitled "The United States and Tacna Arica," which appeared in "The Communist" in April, 1927, on page 76.

Information was also secured reflecting that Ella G. Wolfe of 632 Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, in 1926 was known to or associated with a Japanese student who was arrested in Liverpool, England, for failure to register under the Alien Act, and on his person were found credentials from the Communist Party in America transferring his membership to that party in Russia. This Japanese student, whose name was Ryoichi Kawashima, was proceeding to Moscow to attend a congress at the Eastern University.

RECORDED

61-6050-2  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
4 APR 19 1941  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

*Handwritten:* Mary [unclear]  
4/1/41

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NY FILE NO.

100-9078

<p>REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK CITY</b></p>	<p>DATE WHEN MADE <b>7/7/41</b></p>	<p>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/2/41</b></p>	<p>REPORT MADE BY <b>H. T. BRUNN</b></p>
<p>TITLE <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias Ella Goldberg</b></p>			<p>CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY</b></p>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Bertram Wolfe taught in Mexico City High School in early 1920 and served as correspondent for Tass at that time; delegate to 6th Congress of the Communist International from the Workers (Communist) Party of America; was on Executive Committee of Workers Party of America; Director of the Workers School, NY, 1925 to 1929; served on Board of Directors of Workers Library Publishers 1928 to 1929; expelled from CP in 1929; one of original organizers of Keep America Out of War Congress; now connected with J. Lovestone in Independent Labor League of America; spoke at protest meeting of Workers Party of America against the invasion of Nicaragua in 1927; spoke at the rally for the American Committee for the defense of Leon Trotsky, 1938; addressed a meeting of the Independent Communist Labor League on the subject of the Moscow Trials in 1938; author of "Deathless Days" and "The Soviet Union in 1924"; associate editor of "The Revolutionary Age"; co-author with Norman Thomas of a book entitled "Keep America Out of War, a Program" published in 1939; on Board of Editors of the Marxists Quarterly in 1937; editor of The Workers Age in 1938; author of an article "The Silent Soviet Revolution" published in Harpers Magazine June, 1941; presently writing a book "The Three Who Made a Revolution."

CC TO: *Station/Office*  
 REQ. REC'D *12-19-60*  
 JAN 6 1961  
 ANS.  
 BY: *eds*

AGENCY/PC *1, 5, 1*  
 REQ. REC'D *2-2-57*  
 REP'T FORW. *2-21-57*  
 BY *RE*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

*E. J. Connelley*  
*Jan. Director of A*

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

5 - Bureau  
 2 - Washington Field  
 3 - New York

JUL 10 1941



100-9078

REFERENCES:

Bureau letter to New York dated April 11, 1941.  
Bureau teletype dated June 23, 1941.

DETAILS:

A review of the files of the New York Office reveals the following information concerning the activities of BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

The files contain no reference to ELLA G. WOLFE.

The report of Special Agent Daniel F. Dwyer, New York, dated February 7, 1927 in the case entitled "WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA; COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES" file 61-4, lists BERTRAM D. WOLFE as a speaker at a meeting held at Cooper Union on February 10, 1927 in protest against the invasion of Nicaragua. The meeting was held by the Workers Party of America.

In the case entitled COMMUNIST PARTY - GENERAL SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, New York file 61-507, there is a letter to the Bureau dated May 15, 1937, Bureau File 61-7559, with which was forwarded a copy of the April - June, 1937 issue of the Marxist, described as a journal devoted to critical and creative Marxist scholarships in the social sciences. The copyright for this periodical was in the name of the American Marxist Association, 20 Vesey Street, and was printed by the Liberal Press, Inc., 84 Avenue, New York City. The editor was listed as LOUIS COREY and BERTRAM D. WOLFE was on the Board of Editors.

The same file contains a letter to the Bureau dated March 10, 1938 in which BERTRAM D. WOLFE, editor of the Workers Age, was listed as a speaker at a meeting at the Hotel Center, 108 West 43 Street, under the auspices of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, with headquarters in Room 1609 at 100 Fifth Avenue.

The same file contains a letter to the Bureau dated March 21, 1938 advising that BERTRAM D. WOLFE addressed a meeting held by the Independent Communist Labor League on the subject of the Moscow Trials. According to this letter, this league is a group opposed to the Communist Party system in the United States.

About 800 were present at the meeting and copies of the Workers Age and propaganda of the Socialist Workers Party was distributed. Also distributed were cards announcing the future activities at the New Workers School, 131 West 33 Street, including an announcement of a talk on April 7, 1938 by J. LOVESTONE.

The same file contains a mimeographed letter dated September 27, 1939 of the "Keep America Out of War Congress," 22 East 17 Street, soliciting membership in this organization. The letter is addressed "Dear Friend." Among those listed as backing the plan was BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

The same file contains a letter to the Bureau dated December 1, 1939 advising that the New York Office was sending a book to the Bureau co-authored by NORMAN THOMAS and BERTRAM D. WOLFE and entitled "Keep America Out of War; a Program," published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, in 1939.

The same file contains a report of Special Agent A. S. Reeder, Chicago, Illinois, dated November 29, 1939, entitled COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. REGISTRATION AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS. On page 31 of this report it is set out that BERTRAM D. WOLFE in the past has been on the Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America; Director of Agitation and Propaganda Department and Associate Editor of the Revolutionary Age.

The same file contains a report of Special Agent George J. Starr, dated February 9, 1940 at New York, in which BERTRAM D. WOLFE is named as a member of the Governing Board of Keep America Out of War Congress.

In the case entitled Communist Party, U.S.A.; Registration Act, New York file 65-382, there is a report of Special Agent George J. Starr dated at New York October 16, 1939 reporting the results of an interview with BERTRAM D. WOLFE by Agent Starr. This report sets out on page 13 that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was one of the original members of the Board of Directors as named in the certificate of incorporation of the Workers Library Publishers on March 12, 1928. WOLFE served in this capacity until March 21, 1929.

The same report sets out on page 24 that BERTRAM D. WOLFE was connected with the Independent Labor League of America and that he was interviewed by Agent Starr in the office of J. LOVESTONE. At the time of this interview he stated that he had been a delegate

100-9078

to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International from the Workers (Communist) Party of America. At this time WOLFE stated that he had been expelled from the Party in 1929. He also stated that he became Educational Director of the Workers School in 1925.

In the same file there is a memorandum from the Attorney General listing WOLFE's business address as 43 East 125 Street, New York City, as of November 15, 1939.

It should be noted that the July, 1941 issue of the Readers Digest contains an article entitled "The Silent Soviet Revolution" written by BERTRAM D. WOLFE and republished from the Harpers Magazine, June, 1941 issue. In a footnote to the title of this article a short history of WOLFE is set out in which it is explained that he taught in Mexico City High School in early 1920 and served at that time as a correspondent for Tass. He also made numerous visits to the U.S.S.R. and is personally acquainted with Stalin and Molotov. He was Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929 and editor of the Soviet Union in 1924. He was also editor of Keep America Out of War and Deathless Days and is now at work on a book "Three Who Made a Revolution."

100-9078

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York City, will contact the Credit Bureau for information concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE.

At Brooklyn, New York, will conduct investigation at 68 Montague Street which is listed as WOLFE's New York City address in reference letter, and consider the advisability of placing a mail cover on this address.

Will conduct appropriate investigation into the activities of the Independent Labor League of America.

Will obtain the New York City Police Department criminal record of WOLFE.

Will attempt to develop information concerning WOLFE's association with the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Will attempt to develop confidential informants in the Independent Labor League of America.

Will ascertain information concerning the Marxist Quarterly, of which WOLFE was on the Board of Editors in 1937 and the Workers Age, of which he was editor in 1938.

Will contact the New York Times Morgue for any periodicals in their possession.

Will check the International Relief Association, 2 West 43 Street and develop information concerning WOLFE's connection with this organization.

Will check with the Board of Education in New York City to ascertain whether BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA G. WOLFE are now located in New York City high schools.

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

At Washington, D. C., will contact the State Department and attempt to locate passports for BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE. It should be noted that WOLFE probably traveled to Russia between the years 1925 and 1929. For the information of the Washington Field Division, the Bureau has requested that this case receive expeditious attention.

- P E N D I N G -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICEODA:IS  
61-6050

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

June 23, 1941

Transmit the following message to:

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR E. J. CONNELLEY  
NEW YORK, NEW YORKMILITARY, ET AL, INTERNAL SECURITY. SUBMIT A REPORT ON  
THIS INVESTIGATION NOT LATER THAN JUNE TWENTYSIXTH NEXT.

ROUTE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Drayton \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED

61-	4
JUL 20 1941	
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	

SENT VIA \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 23 1941

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC 6-23-41 10-50 PM BMS

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR E<sup>7</sup> J. CONEXX CONNELLEY

ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL, INTERNAL SECURITY. SUBMIT A REPORT ON  
THIS INVESTIGATION NOT LATER THAN JUNE TWENTYSIXTH NEXT.

HOOVER

CXX ACK AND HOLD PLS

OK FBI NYC TFC

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**

100-9078  
JRM:PS

New York, New York

July 14, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

RE: ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL:  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Reference is made to your letter dated July 8, 1941, Bureau file #61-6050, wherein you requested that the Bureau be advised why previous instructions were not complied with in the instant case. Your attention is directed to the report of Special Agent H. T. Brunn, dated at New York City, July 7, 1941, which was submitted by this office.

I wish to advise that Special Agent Brunn has been working on a special assignment and that because of the large amount of work presently being handled by this office there was no other Agent available to handle this investigation. Special Agent Brunn is no longer engaged on this special assignment and a complete investigation in the instant case will be furnished the Bureau by July 14.

Very truly yours

*T. J. Donegan*

T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for

E. J. CONNELLEY, Assistant Director

RECORDED

11-6050-5	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
8 JUL 16 1941	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FIVE	



**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
New York, New York

EFE:ESS

July 16, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that by letter dated  
July 16, 1941 a cover for a period of 30 days was  
placed on all first class mail addressed to

BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
ELLA G. WOLFE  
68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Very truly yours,

*T. J. Donegan*  
T. J. DONEGAN acting for  
E. J. CONNELLEY,  
Assistant Director

RECORDED

CH-22

61-6050-6	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JUL 17 1941	
U. S. MAIL	

*GMM*

EX-14

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

New York

FILE NO.

100-5172

REPORT MADE AT Washington, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 7-24-41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 7-19-41	REPORT MADE BY LOUIS LOEBL
TITLE <u>CHANGED:</u> BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

BERTRAM D. WOLFE born in Brooklyn, New York, was issued passport in January, 1937 for proposed recreation trip to France, to sail from New York on January 9, 1937. A previous application for passport was filed in May, 1928 and was denied on the ground of communistic connections. No passport record on ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG.

*ICC-INS. Communis.  
SEP. 11-26-52  
CB*

- RUC -

AGENCY ICC 452A  
REQ. REC'D 2-7-57  
REP'T FORM. 2-21-57  
BY af

**REFERENCE:**

Report of Special Agent H. T. BRUNN, dated at New York City, July 7, 1941.

**DETAILS:**

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION

The title of this case is being changed to show subject BERTRAM WOLFE'S middle name.

The passport file as produced for Agent's examination by Confidential Informant S-3, reflected that BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE of Brooklyn, New York filed an application for passport in New York City on May 6, 1928 for travel and study in Germany, France, Italy, England and Baltic States, proposing to sail from the Port of New York on June 9, 1928 on the Isle De France. Identifying witness to this application was LILLIAN D. WOLFE, 148 Berriman Street, Brooklyn, New York, subject's sister.

INDEXED

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>S. K. McKee</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau 3 New York (Asst. Dir. E. J. Connelley) 2 Washington Field <div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; margin-top: 10px;">CH-6</div>		<div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">61-6050-8</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">JUL 28 1941</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">JUL 25 1941</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">Buckley</div>
		<div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">JUL 28 1941</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">JUL 25 1941</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">Buckley</div>

The file shows that as a result of an investigation of subject's alleged communistic activities, a passport was refused him and he was notified thereof by letter from the Passport Division dated June 12, 1928. The file reflects that the refusal of the passport was based on an interoffice memorandum from the Division of Eastern European Affairs dated June 6, 1928 setting forth WOLFE'S activities in behalf of the Communist Party, as indicated in the reference report and stating that WOLFES contemplated journey abroad may well be considered to be in furtherance of the interference of the Bolshevik regime in United States affairs and appears to be in connection with his work as one of the leaders in the activities carried on in the United States under the control and direction of the Bolshevik regime, and that there is little doubt that his real destination is Moscow. The passport file indicates a Refusal Notice posted on August 18, 1928 on the ground of the membership in the 1928 National Election Campaign Committee of the Communist Party. This refusal notice was canceled in January, 1937.

The file shows further that BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE was issued passport #360363 with the proviso, on January 7, 1937, that it was not valid for travel in Spain. In the application for this passport, subject declared he was born in Brooklyn, New York January 19, 1896 and that his permanent residence was 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York; that he desired a passport for a 3 month's recreation trip to France, sailing from the Port of New York on January 9, 1937 on the SS. LAFAYETTE.

In the application, subject's description was indicated to be 5'11½" tall, hair brown, eyes brown, occupation writer. The identifying witness to subject's application is FRANCIS A. HENSON, 44th Street Hotel, New York City. The file indicates that subject's application for this passport was endorsed by telegram of January 5, 1936 from GEORGE GORDON BATTLE of New York City in which telegram the latter stated that WOLFE did work in connection with the Committee on Fair Play of which BATTLE was honorary chairman.

The file reflects an interoffice communication from the Division of Eastern European Affairs dated January 7, 1937 to the Passport Division to the effect that there was no objection to the issuance of a passport for subject, particularly since it has been marked "not valid for Spain" and since investigation indicated that subject was now opposed to the BROWDER group of Communists.

Confidential Informant S-3 advised that the files of the Passport Division reflect no information on ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**

Post Office Box #2344  
Boston, Massachusetts.

July 24, 1941.

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: ELLA G. WOLFE;  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE;  
Internal Security - C

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that a thirty day mail cover  
has been placed on the mail of the two Subjects named above,  
presently residing at 582 $\frac{1}{2}$  Commercial Street, Provincetown,  
Mass.

This cover was placed with Postmaster WILLIAM  
CABRAL.

Very truly yours

*V. W. Peterson*  
V. W. PETERSON  
Special Agent in Charge

100-2068  
HFH:EPL

CH-6

RECORDED

61-6050-9  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
5 JUL 26 1941  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
*[Signature]*

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-23533-7

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE NO. 100-2068. EPL.

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>7-24-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7-21-41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. F. HOWARD.</b>
TITLE <b>ELLA G. WOLFE; BERTRAM D. WOLFE.</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C.</b>
AGENCY <b>REC'D REF'T FORW. BY</b>			

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

ELLA G. WOLFE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE presently residing 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial St., Provincetown, Mass. Thirty day mail cover placed on their mail, Chief of Police, Provincetown observing their activities through sources of information.

- P. -

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter dated July 17, 1941, Bureau File 100-9078.

**DETAILS:** AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS:

Chief of Police ANTHONY P. TARVENS, who has previously assisted the Boston Field Division in numerous investigations at Provincetown, Mass., was furnished the information that ELLA G. WOLFE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE were supposed to be residing at 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial Street. Further, that they were supposedly engaged in Communistic activities and that the Boston Field Division would appreciate any information he could obtain regarding their activities in Provincetown this summer.

Chief TARVENS informed Agent that he had several reliable informants who had been assisting him in obtaining information regarding Communist groups which always became active during the summer months in Provincetown; that he would, through them, place the activities of BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA, under observation and he would inform the Boston Field Office of any unusual activities by the WOLFES.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
		61-6052-10	
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Boston	- 3.		

It should be noted at this time that Agent did not conduct any active investigation due to the type of people residing in the small community of Provincetown, that if such investigation had been conducted it would be very possible that Subjects would be informed of the investigation being conducted.

WILLIAM CABRAL, Postmaster of Provincetown, Mass., advised Agent that ELLA G. WOLFE and BERTRAM D. WOLFE are presently residing at 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial Street, Provincetown; that they had leased a cottage from the owner of the property, a Mrs. WINSLOW, for the remainder of the summer season.

A thirty day mail cover was placed on all incoming and outgoing mail to the residence of the WOLFES.

P E N D I N G.



UNDEVELOPED LEADS.

BOSTON FIELD DIVISION:

AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS., will keep in touch with Chief of Police ANTHONY P. TARVENS and obtain information he may receive regarding the Subjects in this case.

Will obtain results of mail cover from Postmaster WILLIAM CABRAL.

Will inform New York Field Division when Subjects leave Provincetown, Mass. for New York City.

P E N D I N G.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This Case Originated At <b>NEW YORK, NEW YORK</b>		NY File 100-9078 erl	
Report Made At <b>NEW YORK CITY</b>	Date Made <b>7/28/41</b>	Period <b>7/16, 17, 18, 21 22/41</b>	Report Made By <b>H. T. BRUNN</b>
Title <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias ELLA GOLDBERG</b>			Character <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</b>

Synopsis of Facts:

Bertram D. Wolfe reported born in Brooklyn, NY in 1896. Additional references set out concerning Wolfe's association with the Communist Party until 1929, his Mexican activities and association with the Lovestone opposition to the Communist Party since 1929. Resides at 68 Montague St., Brooklyn, NY with his wife, Ella G. Wolfe. Ella G. Wolfe born Kherson, Russia 5/10/97; entered US 1905; naturalized EDNY 2/3/11 under name Ella Goldberg; married Wolfe 4/18/17; attended Hunter College 1914 to 1918 receiving B.A. Degree; took advanced study at the University of Mexico 1923 to 1924; received M.A. Degree Columbia University 1931. She was employed as substitute teacher, NYC schools from 1931 to 1935 and as Spanish teacher Bayridge High School, Brooklyn 1935 to date. Wolfe and wife spending summer months at Provincetown, Mass.; reported to receive large volume of registered mail from foreign countries particularly Latin America. Information set out concerning Marceau Pivert, formerly secretary of the French Workers and Socialist Party and now believed in Mexico. Ella Wolfe

NY REC. 6574  
REQ. REC'D 2-4-51  
REP'T FORW. 2-21-51  
BY 111

100-9078-326  
JUL 11 1941

CC TO: *Stell (w/acc/PR)*  
REQ. REC'D 1-11-61  
JAN 6 1961  
ANS.  
BY *eds mlt*

Approved and Forwarded *J. J. Donegan* SAC

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*McIntire*  
JUL 30 1941  
*FOR*  
*RANS*

identified as Senorita Ella Goldberg.  
Sponsors of Keep America Out of War  
Congress set out. Information concerning  
the Independent Labor League of America,  
The Workers Age Book Shop, The Workers  
Age and the International Relief  
Association set out.

- P -

REFERENCES: Report of Special Agent H. T. Brunn, dated July 7,  
1941 at New York City.  
Bureau letter to New York dated April 11, 1941.

DETAILS: AT NEW YORK

At 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, it was ascertained from Mr. H. SEYFRIED, the superintendent, that BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA WOLFE, had been tenants at this building for approximately three years, residing in Apt. 5D, for which they paid \$70. a month rent.

SEYFRIED knew very little about WOLFE's activities. He thought that WOLFE was a writer and that his wife was a school teacher in Bronxville, New York. SEYFRIED advised that WOLFE and his wife were away for the summer but had no idea where they were, advising that they were either in Massachusetts or Connecticut. He described WOLFE as being "a Communist," stating that his writings were of a Communistic nature.

ANDREW SPENCER, colored, the doorman at 68 Montague Street, advised that ELLA WOLFE was a school teacher in Bayridge High School, Brooklyn. He stated that WOLFE and his wife were quiet tenants but frequently had large gatherings of people in their apartment on Friday evenings. He stated further that WOLFE received a great deal of mail from South and Central America.

According to SPENCER, WOLFE wrote a book last year entitled "Keep America Out of War," but SPENCER advised that WOLFE had been unsuccessful in having this book published. He stated that WOLFE is presently working on another book and that he and his wife are away on vacation on Cape Cod, although he did not have the exact address.

100-9078

It was noted that the real estate agency for 68 Montague Street was listed as BING & BING, 119 West 40 Street, New York. Mr. E. O'BRIEN, Agent for BING & BING, 119 West 40 Street, advised that he had no personal knowledge concerning the WOLFE family at 68 Montague Street. A review of the file on this apartment indicated that Mrs. WOLFE is a teacher at Bayridge High School, Fourth Avenue and 67 Street, Brooklyn.

WOLFE entered Apartment 5D on November 25, 1938 and his previous address was 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, where he had resided for sixteen years. The application stated that Mrs. WOLFE's father, MAX GOLDBERG, resided at this address. WOLFE listed his banking connections as the National City Bank, Bedford Branch, 556 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn. He listed the following references: JULIAN GUMPERZ, broker, 610 Fifth Avenue; LEONARD MENDLOWITZ, manufacturer, 1359 Broadway; Dr. ARTHUR DALLOS, 36 Central Park South.

The file also contained letters of recommendation from Miss BENWAY, the administrative assistant at Bayridge High School, to the effect that ELLA WOLFE had been at that school for three years and had a permanent teacher's license; Mrs. FITZGERALD of the National City Bank, advised that WOLFE had had an account there since 1937; JULIAN GUMPERZ and LEONARD MENDLOWITZ were listed as personal friends.

At the Brooklyn Post Office, HARRY NEGERLE, the carrier for 68 Montague Street, advised that WOLFE and his wife were presently residing at 582½ Commercial Street, Provincetown, Massachusetts and that they were expected to be there until after Labor Day. NEGERLE stated that WOLFE and his wife had been going to the same place for about three years during the summer vacations.

He stated further that WOLFE was the "worst pest" on his route because of the fact that he received an average of three or four registered letters a day which necessitated personal delivery. According to NEGERLE, the letters were generally with a foreign postmark and as he recalled, most of them came from Central and South America.

NEGERLE stated that WOLFE was always in the apartment during the day occupied with his writing and he evidently had no other office from which he worked.

JIM NOLAN, Inspector at Brooklyn Post Office, advised that it would be possible to look up the registered letters delivered to WOLFE for the past year, but that this would be a Herculean task and would take a great deal of personnel, a long period of time in view of the fact that registered letter receipts are filed by number and the search would require going through each number for a whole year to pick out those belonging to WOLFE. In view of this fact, no search was requested, but a mail cover is being placed on this address.

At the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, it was impossible to locate any credit record for BERTRAM D. WOLFE or his wife, ELLA G. WOLFE.

At Ellis Island, Bureau of Immigration, it was impossible to locate any record of the entry of BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA G. WOLFE into the United States.

A photograph of BERTRAM D. WOLFE was obtained from the World Wide Photographers of the New York Times. This is a group photograph showing WOLFE with Miss FAY BENNETT, McALISTER COLEMAN, Miss DOROTHY DETZER, Rev. A. J. MUSTE and NORMAN THOMAS. It is being retained in the New York file.

At the New York Times Morgue the following articles were examined in connection with WOLFE's activities. An article dated July 17, 1926 indicated that WOLFE had presided at a debate held by the Workers Party at the Central Opera House in connection with a mass meeting of the I. R. T. strikers. The debate was between HIRAM MANN of the National Security League and J. LOVESTONE of the Workers Party on the subject "Resolved that our present form of government is in the interests of the American masses." LOVESTONE took the negative of this article. SCOTT NEARING acted as chairman of the rally.

An article dated April 12, 1927 carried a Mexico City dateline of April 11, 1927 and set out that the Central Labor Organization of the Federal District had at a special meeting

requested by resolution that President CALLES pronounce Mme. COLLONTAY, the Russian Charge d'Affaires, as persona non grata. The following quotation appeared: "The organization contends that Mme. COLLONTAY is sheltering Bertram Wolfe, the American Communist, who was expelled from Mexico a year ago, but who has returned. The union accuses her of obtaining permission for his return and charges his wife with having received a large sum of money from Soviet Russia to be used in helping Communists in Mexico."

On March 13, 1927 WOLFE sent a letter to the New York Times correcting the above dispatch, advising that he was in New York and had not been in Mexico since he was expelled in 1925.

The file also contained an article dated April 14, 1927 reporting a debate between WOLFE and ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS of the Bronx Free Fellowship on the subject: "Resolved that the American system of government is preferable to the Russian." HAYS, taking the negative, called the American system "A government of the bankers, by the bankers and for the bankers." The article listed WOLFE as being director of the Workers School at that time.

On June 4, 1927 an article reported an address of WOLFE to a meeting of the Workers Party at the Central Opera House, demanding the withdrawal of American Marines from China.

On February 9, 1928, an article reported that WOLFE, together with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN GOLD, was on the faculty of a new college opened by the Workers-Communist Party, called the National Training Course of the Workers School, the purpose of which was "To teach the art and science, the tactics and strategy of militant revolution."

The file also contained a press release of the National Election Campaign Press Service of the Workers Communist Party dated October 1, 1928 which was a biographical sketch of WOLFE, candidate of the Workers Communist Party for Congress from the 10th Congressional District. This sketch listed WOLFE as being editor of the Communist World, head of the Propaganda Department of the Party and Director of the Workers School.

According to the article, he was born in Brooklyn in 1896 and was a founder of the Communist Party in 1919. He was Editor of their first paper "The Communist World." The historic sketch listed WOLFE as being a member of the San Francisco Cooks Union in 1920. He was editor of Labor Unity, left wing union paper, from 1920 to 1922. From 1923 to 1925 he was in the left wing of the Printing Trades Union in Mexico City, being deported in 1925 for activities in the general railway strike. At that time he came to New York and became a member of the Executive Committee of the Teachers Union in 1927. While in Mexico he was on the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party. He was also a delegate to the Printing Trade Union International with headquarters in Moscow and on its Executive Committee from 1924 to 1928.

An article dated July 7, 1929 related the facts concerning the expulsion of LOVESTONE for factionalism from the Communist Party. This article indicated that WOLFE and BENJAMIN GITLOW followed LOVESTONE.

An article dated August 15, 1929 reported that WOLFE, GITLOW, WILLIAM MILLER, TOM MYESCOUGH, EDWARD WELSH, WILLIAM J. WHITE, HERBERT ZAM, D. BENJAMIN and MORRIS NEMSER were purged from the Communist Party. According to the article, LOVESTONE, GITLOW and WOLFE were charged with leaving Moscow without permission when called there to express their factionalism.

An article dated March 3, 1930 reported a riot which occurred when members of the Communist Party attempted to break up a memorial meeting of the LOVESTONE group in Tuxedo Hall, New York, which was identified as the RUTHENBERG memorial meeting. BERTRAM D. WOLFE was acting as chairman at this meeting.

A book review dated March 15, 1937 indicated that WOLFE had supplied the text for DIAGO RIVERA's portrait of Mexico, a book of paintings and running explanation of RIVERA's work. The article indicated that WOLFE was sailing for six months in Europe to gather material for another book.

11/2/7



An article dated February 9, 1937 published a letter from BERTRAM D. WOLFE in answer to an article dated February 5, 1937 which reported that the Mexican Communists had demanded that BERTRAM D. WOLFE, TROTSKY's American secretary, be expelled. In WOLFE's letter of answer to this article, he stated that he had not been in Mexico since September 9, 1936 and he further denied any association whatsoever with TROTSKY.

An article dated February 2, 1936 reported that WOLFE had urged all of the Communist factions to unite their ranks and join with the Socialists for a united front in presenting TOM MOONEY as presidential candidate.

An article dated March 7, 1938 reported WOLFE as speaking at an anti-war rally in the Hippodrome under the sponsorship of the Keep America Out of War Committee. Speakers listed at this rally were Senator ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, HOMER MARTIN, NORMAN THOMAS and Major General WILLIAM C. RIVERS, retired.

An article dated March 10, 1938 reported a meeting of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. The speakers, in addition to BERTRAM D. WOLFE, were SUZANNE LAFOLLETTE, CARLO TRESCA, EUGENE LYONS and MAS SHACHTMAN.

A book review dated March 20, 1939 criticized a book by BERTRAM D. WOLFE entitled DIAGO RIVERA: His Life and Times, published by KNOFF.

An article dated September 13, 1939 reported a meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress held at the Town Hall, in which the speakers were BERTRAM D. WOLFE, NORMAN THOMAS and JOHN T. FLYNN.

LOUIS WALDMAN, attorney, 302 Broadway, New York City, who has been associated with the American Labor Party, repeated information previously reported concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE. He knew nothing whatsoever concerning WOLFE's present activities.

A mail cover has been placed on the address of 68 Montague Street for BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE.

The toll calls have been requested from the New York Telephone Company for the telephone Main 4-3177, listed to ELLA G. WOLFE, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York.

The criminal records for BERTRAM D. WOLFE and ELLA G. WOLFE have been requested from the New York Police Department.

The New York file contains a report from [redacted], whose identity is known to the Bureau, dated April 22, 1941 concerning BERTRAM D. WOLFE, as follows:

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" Bertram Wolfe, I believe, joined the Communist Party with or shortly after Lovestone in 1919. Thereafter Wolfe's political career closely paralleled that of Lovestone until they closed shop recently.

" After he returned from the 6th congress in Moscow Wolfe took the assignment of literary hatchet-man against the Trotskyites. He wrote a pamphlet or two on Trotskyism in the approved Communist style of falsification and delivered lectures on the same subject. After his expulsion he admitted he lied and renounced the pamphlets. Wolfe repeated this maneuver during Trotsky's trial in Mexico City. In a rive of the book THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY Wolfe admitted that he was wrong in believing Trotsky guilty.

" In addition to his literary sorties against the Trotskyites Wolfe undertook practical measures against them. He, in company with Bert Miller, headed so-called steering committees to disrupt all Trotskyite meetings. Wolfe saw that the attackers were furnished with lead pipe encased in paper, knives, knuckles and blackjacks to dispatch the Trotskyites from proletarian preserves. After his expulsion from the Party he said the weapons were not distributed by the committee, but gotten by the hot headed rank and filers without his knowledge. After Miller broke from the Lovestone group, Wolfe, Welsh, Yablin and others said Miller distributed the weapons and pressed the boys to use them.

" In 1929 Lovestone and Wolfe instructed their boys to commit burglary in the Trotskyite office and Cannon's apartment.

"They did a thorough job. Although the Lovestoneites denied the burglary, Emil Rosenberg a minor leader in the group until 1938, admitted the crime after he left. Rosenberg worked [ ] for three years on the Workers Education Project.

b7D

" Around 1935 Wolfe and Lovestone entered in secret negotiations with Browder for readmission to the Communist Party. The negotiations collapsed when Wolfe and Lovestone insisted that they enter the Party as a group, not individuals.

" Wolfe speaks Spanish fluently. I understand that he taught the language and shorthand in a business school near Union Square. Because of his knowledge of Spanish he was regarded as the group's expert on Latin America and Spain. In 1937 he returned from a trip in Spain. At a lecture in Hotel Delano he gave the O.G.P.U. operating in Spain a whitewash or still better a redwash. He denied that the Communist slaughtered people because they believed differently. "

At the New York City Board of Education, Livingston Street, Brooklyn, the file of ELLA G. WOLFE was reviewed. This file indicated that ELLA G. WOLFE was born at Kherson, Russia on May 10, 1897. The file contained a certified naturalization certificate from the Clerk of the Eastern District of New York to the effect that ELLA GOLDBERG had been naturalized at the time her father, MAX GOLDBERG, was naturalized on February 3, 1911. MAX GOLDBERG's first papers were dated in 1905. The file also indicated that ELLA GOLDBERG had married BERTRAM D. WOLFE on April 18, 1917 who was born in Brooklyn, New York on January 19, 1896.

Her educational history was listed as Public School #147, Brooklyn, from 1907 to 1911, Eastern District High School, Marcy Avenue and Keep Street, Brooklyn, 1911 to 1914; Hunter College, Park Avenue and 68 Street, 1914 to 1918; B. A. Degree; Columbia University, M.A. Degree, June, 1931. Attendance was also listed at the University of Mexico for advanced study from January to November, 1923 and from January to November, 1924.

She listed her teaching experience as follows:

Escuela Superior, Mexico General, 1923 to August, 1925, in the subject of English. Public School #147 from February to June, 1931 as a substitute teacher in typing. Thomas Jefferson High School from September, 1931 to February, 1935 as a substitute teacher in History. Bayridge High School from 1935 to date as a teacher in Spanish. Her previous employment was listed as JULIAN GUMPERZ, University of Frankfort, Frankfort am Main, Germany, Secretary; and research work in coal and steel 1926 to 1928 S.S. KOPPE & COMPANY (J. W. SANGER, President) Times Building, New York as head of Research Department 1928 to 1929; ERNESTINE EVANS of J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, publishers, 227 South 6 Street as secretary from June to September, 1931.

The file contained correspondence between the Board of Education and ELLA G. WOLFE in which the Board of Education attempted to ascertain when ELLA G. WOLFE entered the United States in order that her birthdate might be verified. Nothing more definite was contained in the file except that ELLA G. WOLFE stated that she had come to the United States in the spring of 1905 but that she could not remember the ship on which her parents had arrived. It is interesting to note that the file listed ELLA G. WOLFE nee GOLDBERG as residing at 632 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn.

Reference letter from the Bureau advised that on March 29, 1926 the Department of State forwarded to the Bureau a copy of a letter addressed to Comrade Ella, Mexico, who it was stated had been identified as ELLA WOLFE of 632 Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn and who was believed identical with Senorita ELLA GOLDBERG, Rome 39, Mexico City, Mexico. In view of the similarity of addresses, it is evident that Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn is probably Throop Avenue, Brooklyn.

At the National City Bank, Bedford Branch, it was ascertained that BERTRAM D. WOLFE had an account at this bank from June 12, 1937 to December 3, 1938 and that ELLA G. WOLFE had an account at the bank from May 14, 1936 to August 22, 1937, at which time her account was merged with that of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. The account had been transferred in 1938 to the People's Trust Branch of the National City Bank, 181 Montague Street.

Through the cooperation of Mr. R. F. THOMAS, Assistant Secretary of the People's Trust Branch of the National City Bank,

100-9078

it was ascertained that the BERTRAM D. WOLFE account had been closed into the ELLA G. WOLFE account as of February, 1940. The Recordak films of ELLA G. WOLFE's statements for the first six months of 1941 were viewed by Agent. These films failed to reveal any pertinent information or particular activity in this account, the average balance being maintained between \$300. and \$400., average deposits being approximately \$125. a month and approximating withdrawals for each month.

Reference letter from the Bureau indicates that WOLFE is probably connected with the International Relief Association, 2 West 43 Street, and sets out that FRANCIS A. HENSON, Miss RAY MICHAELS and SHEBA STRUNSKY, the present secretary of the I.R.A. are sympathetic to the Independent Labor League of America, an organization used by the LOVESTONE group to further its activities in France and Germany.

In connection with all of these individuals, there is no record in the New York files. No record could be located at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, for HENSON or STRUNSKY.

The New York telephone directory for 1941 lists a telephone for SHEBA STRUNSKY, Chelsea 2-5693, at 282 West 4 Street.

is being requested to furnish the long distance phone calls for this telephone for the past three months. A mail cover has also been placed on this address.

b7D

LOUIS WALDMAN, attorney, at 302 Broadway, who has been intimately connected with the American Labor Party and has a broad knowledge of Communist activities in New York, advised that he was not acquainted with SHEBA STRUNSKY or Miss RAY MICHAELS.

In connection with FRANCIS A. HENSON, WALDMAN advised that he thought this individual was a Norwegian who had been a Socialist some time back but had since turned into a Communist. He advised that the name sounded familiar to him but that he knew nothing definite.

Reference letter from the Bureau also sets out information concerning MARCEAU PIVERT who is reported to have furnished

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to the Independent Labor League of America in general and to JAY LOVESTONE in particular a list of his European contacts. No information could be obtained concerning PIVERT at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue.

A review of the files in the New York Office indicates that the Bureau forwarded to the New York Field Division (New York file 54-144) an anonymous letter dated June 18, 1940 addressed to President ROOSEVELT, forwarded by Bureau letter of August 20, 1940 entitled UNKNOWN SUBJECT, NEW YORK, N.Y.; INTERNAL SECURITY. The following is quoted from this anonymous letter:

"When are you going to connect MARCEAU PIVERT of France; who is now in the United States working against the United States, back to France and let them treat him as he deserves? Or are you going to let him sneak into Mexico where he can carry on his good work? You know you have permitted him to stay in America ever since September, 1939 and since that time France has tried him in absence."

The New York files also contain a letter from the Bureau dated April 22, 1941 in the case entitled JACOB WALCHER; INTERNAL SECURITY, New York file 100-9325, indicating that WALCHER who entered the United States as a political refugee in 1940 had been active in sponsoring the entrance of other political refugees engaged in questionable activities in Europe.

The letter also enclosed a blind memorandum prepared at the Bureau on April 18, 1941 concerning WALCHER'S activities from 1922 to 1924 as a Communist in Germany. In this memorandum information is set out from a strictly confidential source that MARCEAU PIVERT, formerly of Paris, France, who was then in Mexico endeavoring to obtain a visa to the United States, had furnished to J. LOVESTONE a large list of his European contacts. JACOB WALCHER, 1 Avenue Payret, Dortail - Plesis - Ribonson, Seine, was listed as one of these contacts.

As a matter of background the memorandum set out that PIVERT was one of the leading lights of the International Workers front against war started a few years ago by J. LOVESTONE and represented that organization in France.

PIVERT, according to the memorandum, is known to have been in contact with LOVESTONE over a period of years. The memorandum continues that LOVESTONE after he left the Communist Party formed the Independent Labor League of America which had a large following but that this organization had become defunct within the past few months.

LOVESTONE is reported to have sent large sums of money collected through the I.R.A. to Dr. AUGUST THALHEIMER or to HEINZ BRANDLER for revolutionary activities against the French and German Governments.

New York file 65-2643 contains a memorandum dated May 14, 1940 submitted by Special Agent A. Franz to the effect that Lieutenant CARSELLO of the ONI had advised that MARCEAU PIVERT, a professor of mathematics at 131 West 38 Street (address of I.L.L.A.) had an assistant by the name of ROSE PELLIQUIN who is stated to be an active Communist presently in the United States on a visit. Attached to this memorandum is a photostatic copy of two photographs, one reported to be that of ROSE PELLIQUIN and the other to be that of MARCEAU PIVERT who is listed under the photograph as a professor of mathematics and head of the French Workers and Peasants Party who is now in America for his health. The source of the photographs is unknown, having been received from Lieutenant CARSELLO.

At Ellis Island the records were checked for ROSE PELLIQUIN with negative results.

The file of MARCEAU PIVERT was reviewed which indicated that he had entered the United States on the Normandie on August 28, 1939 from La Havre, France, giving his age as 43 years, professor and citizenship French. He listed his birthplace as Montmacha, France and his last residence as Paris. His wife was listed as Mrs. G. PIVERT, Rue de Vaugirard 247, Paris. He had \$200. in his possession upon arrival and stated that he had never been in the United States before. He listed as his friend Mr. CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, 218 West 40 Street, New York City. He stated that he intended to stay four weeks. In this connection, it is interesting to note that CHARLES ZIMMERMAN who was Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Workers of America, has been connected with LOVESTONE movement since its inception in 1929. PIVERT's description was given as:

Height	5' 9"
Complexion	Medium
H air	Gray
Eyes	Blue

The correspondence file at Ellis Island indicated that PIVERT had taken up residence at the Sloane House, 356 West 36 Street. In an application for an extension of stay he listed his friends as Mrs. M. DAVIS, 17 Commerce Street, New York, and Mr. J. HOCHMAN, 218 West 40 Street, Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Union. An extension was granted for PIVERT to stay until April 28, 1940. A letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., contained in the file, indicated that PIVERT had an alias of ~~PELLEQUIN~~ or ~~PELLIQUIN~~.

The file also contained a letter from ROGER BALDWIN, dated May 9, 1940 requesting another extension to PIVERT's visa. This extension was refused on May 6, 1940. The file indicated that PIVERT was supposed to leave for Vera Cruz, Mexico on the MONTEREY on July 17, 1940, however, when the sailing of this vessel was checked it was ascertained that PIVERT's reservation had been canceled.

At a hearing dated July 15, 1940 before T. R. KING, Immigration Inspector at Ellis Island in connection with an application to stay, it was brought out that PIVERT was born October 2, 1895 and that he was residing at that time in care of Mrs. NATALE DAVIS, 17 Commerce Street, New York City.

The file also contained a letter from the French Line dated August 27, 1940 to the effect that Miss RAY MICHAELS had applied for a refund on the return ticket of MARCEAU PIVERT for his original trip from France. Miss MICHAELS indicated to the French Line that PIVERT had departed for Mexico by rail on July 20, 1940.

The file contained a letter from PIVERT dated September 10, 1940 with the return address Tamesis 15, Mexico D. F., informing that he had left the United States on July 22, 1940 by Laredo, Texas.

The file also contained a memorandum from the State Department to the effect that PIVERT had been identified by JOSEPH



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PALMER, Second American Vice Consul in Mexico, D. F. on September 24, 1940.

The Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 55 Fifth Avenue, had a file on PIVERT consisting of a clipping from the New York Times dated April 10, 1940. This clipping had a Paris dateline of April 9, 1940 and related that MARCEAU PIVERT, Secretary General of the French Workers and Socialist Party, was being tried in absence in France for inciting mutiny arising from the circulation of tracts urging soldiers to disobedience. The article advised that PIVERT was formerly a professor in the Suresne School.

In connection with Miss RAY MICHAELS, set out in reference letter of the Bureau as being active in the International Relief Association and the Independent Labor League of America, the following information was obtained at the Credit Bureau of Greater New York.

A report dated January 20, 1940 listed Miss RAY MICHAELS of 2071 Walton Avenue, Bronx, who formerly resided at 2116 Morris Avenue, Bronx, as a bookkeeper in the Manufacturers Trust Company Branch at 43 Street and Eighth Avenue. She was listed as single in her late twenties and residing with a sister and brother-in-law who is a taxi driver by the name of A. KROTZER. It is interesting to note that Miss RAY MICHAELS was the individual who presented PIVERT's return ticket to the French Line for credit.

At Dun & Bradstreet, 290 Broadway, there was a file for the Workers Age Book Shop, publishers on the premises of the I.L.L.A. 131 West 33 Street. The report was dated August 9, 1938 and indicated that WILL HERBERG, Manager of the Workers Age Book Shop, had referred the investigator to Miss RAY MICHAELS of the I.L.L.A. for information. The investigator indicated that Miss MICHAELS had refused all information in connection with the I.L.L.A. The file indicated, however, that the I.L.L.A. was formed in 1929 and had operated at 51 West 14 Street until 1936, at which time it moved to 131 West 33 Street.

In connection with MARTIN TEMPLE, who is mentioned in a letter dated August 9, 1940 addressed to "Dear Ella" and forwarded to the New York Field Division with reference letter from the Bureau, no information could be developed at the Credit Bureau, Ellis

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Island or from the city directory and the files of the New York Field Division.

A review of the New York files in connection with the Independent Labor League of America indicates that in the file entitled Subversive Activities General, New York file 61-507, Bureau file 61-7559, a letter was addressed to the Bureau from the New York Field Division dated December 6, 1938. This letter sets out that the Communist Party opposition is contemplating the enlarging of its newspaper "The Workers Age" and also undertaking the publication of a bi-monthly theoretical journal. A special fund to that end was being raised by a Committee headed by SIDNEY JONAS. The Communist Party opposition is identified as the Independent Labor League of America.

The same file contained a letter to the Bureau dated April 17, 1939 indicating that the Workers Age Book Shop, 131 West 33 Street, which is the same address as the I.L.L.A., had published a pamphlet entitled "Program and Policies of the I.L.L.A." A copy was forwarded to the Bureau. They had also published a pamphlet entitled "Where We Stand - Labor's Road Forward." being the program and policies of the Independent Labor League of America, a copy of which was also forwarded to the Bureau with the letter.

A review of the New York files fails to reveal any information upon the Marxist Quarterly. No record was found on this publication at Dun & Bradstreet.

In connection with the Workers Age, Dun & Bradstreet had a report dated September 1, 1933 indicating that this is published at 51 West 14 Street which is noted as the former office address of the I.L.L.A. BERTRAM D. WOLFE is listed as the editor and WILL HERBERG as the managing editor. The organization is listed as a member of the New York Communist Party opposition. It published at that time a weekly paper entitled "The Workers Age," selling for five cents. At the time of the Dun & Bradstreet investigation a financial report was refused.

In connection with the activities of the Communist Party opposition as identified by J. LOVESTONE of the I.L.L.A., Special Agent George J. Starr, who is well acquainted with the activities of this group, advises that the group has been disbanded for approximately one year and that there is no practical organization existing today.

The Dun & Bradstreet file also contained a report dated May 27, 1941 for the International Relief Association, the address listed being 20 Vesey Street, Room 310. CHARLES BEARD is listed as the Honorary Chairman, FREDA KIRSCHWEY, Treasurer and STERLING D. SPERO, Secretary.

The organization, according to this report, was founded by ALBERT EINSTEIN, KAETHE KOLLWITZ, GRAF G. VONARCO, EDWARD FUCHS, HELEN STOECKER and H. VOGT. The central European office was listed as 20 Voite Postale, Paris, France. It was reported to be supported by voluntary contributions and acted as a clearing house for local agencies throughout the United States and foreign countries for the purpose of aiding political refugees from Nazism.

In connection with the International Relief Association, reference is made to the report of Special Agent A. N. Carlblom, New York, dated June 11, 1941, in the case entitled HANS STEINICKE, with aliases; INTERNAL SECURITY, SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT, New York file 100-10246. The information from this report is being quoted as follows:

" A check of the New York files for information concerning the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, as well as STERLING SPERO, resulted in certain pertinent information being located in N. Y. File 61-507, a general file concerning Communist activities. A letter to the Director dated May 15, 1937 refers to the MARXIST QUARTERLY, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, and advises that the Managing Editor was LEWIS COREY; that STERLING D. SPERO, as well as four other individuals comprised the Board of Editors, SPERO being Secretary and Treasurer of the AMERICAN MARXIST ASSOCIATION, the publishers of the periodical. A letter dated February 6th, 1939 to the Bureau mentions the I. R. A. Bulletin published by the

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"INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, 20 Vesey Street; this letter reflects that an insert appeared in this publication bearing the title 'INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION FOR VICTIMS OF NAZISM.' The American Committee of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, was allegedly composed of the following:

ALBERT EINSTEIN  
GRAF G. VON ARCO  
EDWARD FUCHS  
HELEN STOECKER  
CARL VON OSSITZKY  
CHARLES A. BEARD, Honorary Chairman  
FREDA KIRSCHWEY, Treasurer  
SHEBA STRUNSKY, Executive Secretary

To secure information concerning the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, investigation was conducted at its present address, 2 W. 43rd Street. It was observed that the building directory listed not only the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION for Room 405, but the following as well:

COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM  
JOINT CAMPAIGN FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES  
NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND  
STERLING D. SPERO  
FRANK N. TRAGER

WILLIAM H. McCARTHY, associated with TANKOOS & SMITH CO., Realty Agents, 1457 Broadway, telephone Wisconsin 7-2900, advised that Mr. SPERO is the mainstay of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, and that little information concerning the organization or Mr. SPERO was available since they had acquired this account from the SCHULTE REALTY CO., present address 386 Broadway, and that the said firm would have information concerning the Association becoming a tenant. Mr. McCARTHY advised that they had accepted the fact that the Association would prove a good tenant and had conducted no investigation in connection with references, or banking connections. The Association presently pays \$65.00 monthly for 506 square feet floor space, which rental has been paid promptly. Mr. McCARTHY further said that the rent had recently been raised from \$50.00 per month and that at that time Dr. SPERO refused to sign the lease personally. He stated that no complaints had been received of any nature indicative of the Association being Communistic or

"pro-Nazi. He was unacquainted with subject and suggested that interview with Mr. MALLOY, the building superintendent, might be beneficial.

Mr. L. MALLOY, Superintendent, 2 W. 43rd Street, stated that Dr. SPERO was the central figure in the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, in which there were approximately five or six women constantly employed. He stated that it was a busy office with numerous refugees visiting, and various supplies consisting of pots, kettles and clothes being accumulated. He believed that all associated with the organization were well educated while advising that all were Jewish. It was his belief that Dr. SPERO was a professor at City College. Mr. MALLOY added that there was much typing in the office and it at all times appeared extremely busy. He was unacquainted with subject, and stated he knew nothing which would reflect against the organization."

At Dun & Bradstreet the following information was obtained concerning the Keep America Out of War Congress, Inc. In a report dated October 11, 1940 the following individuals were listed as being connected with this organization:

JOHN T. FLYNN, National Chairman  
ALICE L. DODGE, Organization Secretary  
HENRY W. DWYER, Associate Secretary  
ALBERT W. HAMILTON, Labor Secretary  
FAY BENNETT, Youth Secretary

The Governing Committee was listed as follows:

FREDERICK J. LIBBY, Chairman  
Rabbi PHILIP L. BERNSTEIN  
Dr. CHARLES F. BOSS  
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY  
Rev. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS  
DOROTHY DETZER  
JOHN W. EDELMAN  
ALBERT W. HAMILTON  
IRA A. HIRSCHMANN

100-9078

FRANK LITTELL  
MINNIE LURYE  
LEONORE G. MARSHALL  
MRS. SETH M. MILLIKEN  
RAY NEWTON  
ELLIOTT D. PRATT  
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
JOHN NEVIN SAYER  
ROSE M. STEIN  
NORMAN THOMAS  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE

The group was chartered in New York in 1938, the original organization having started in Washington, D. C. The purpose of the organization was listed to educate the American People on peace issues. It operates on an annual budget of \$10,000 raised by voluntary contributions. The New York office is located at 22 East 17 Street and a branch office is located at 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois. The banking reference was listed as the Amalgamated Bank, New York City.

In connection with the investigation conducted by Special Agent Carlblom as set out above concerning the International Relief Association, it is noted that the New World Resettlement Fund, Inc. has the same address as the International Relief Association.

It is interesting to note that file 66-1326 contains a memorandum dated May 23, 1941 submitted by Special Agent E. F. Emrich to the effect that Inspector WATTS of the ONI had called to obtain information concerning SHEBA STRUNSKY, reported by WATTS to be the sponsor of refugees and aliens entering this country. In connection with the New World Resettlement Fund, Inc. WATTS was advised that there was no record in the New York files.

At the Brooklyn Board of Health it was impossible to verify the birthdate of BERTRAM D. WOLFE as set out above. It should be noted in this connection, that compulsory recording of birth records was not required in Brooklyn until 1910.

100-9078

Reference letter from the Bureau refers to one RYŌICHI KAWASHIMA who was arrested in Liverpool, England in 1926 for failure to report under the Alien Act, at which time documents relating to the Communist Party in the United States were found in his possession and among these names appeared the name of ELLA G. WOLFE, 632 Hiroop Avenue, Brooklyn.

A review of the New York files fails to reflect any additional information other than that set out in reference letter. In view of the ancient date of this material, no further investigation is contemplated as to this individual.

Reference letter also indicates that FRED STRAUSS of Fullerton, California was interested in the application of HANS THEISSEN and ILSE THEISSEN for entrance into the United States, whose names were submitted to the Interdepartmental Committee of Political Refugees March 27, 1941. The Los Angeles Field Division has been requested previously by letter to conduct appropriate investigation into the identity and activities of STRAUSS. It should be noted also that the Boston Field Division has previously been requested to conduct investigation into the activities of WOLFE at Provincetown, Massachusetts and also to place a mail cover at this address.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York City, will report the results of the mail covers placed on the subject, BERTRAM D. WOLFE and on SHEBA STRUNSKY and also report the results of the long distance phone calls for the past three months when they are received from the New York Telephone Company. In addition, will report any criminal record of BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA G. WOLFE.

Will interview STERLING D. SPERO of the International Relief Association, 2 West 43 Street. In this connection, it is suggested that an attempt be made to develop from SPERO the financial backing of this organization and obtain from him a roster of those individuals whom the International Relief Organization has sponsored in applications for entry into the United States.

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

At The Congressional Library, will review the index of authors and obtain all publications listed for BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

Will check the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to attempt to ascertain whether any applications have been made by MARCEAU PIVERT for entrance into the United States since he left in 1940.

BOSTON FIELD DIVISION

At Provincetown, Massachusetts, will conduct appropriate investigation at 582 $\frac{1}{2}$  Commercial Street into the activities of BERTRAM D. WOLFE and his wife, ELLA G. WOLFE. A mail cover should be placed at this address.

LOS ANGELES FIELD DIVISION

At Fullerton, California, will conduct appropriate investigation into the identity and activities of FRED STRAUSS.

- P E N D I N G -



GMA:mdj:acl

61-6050 -

100-100000

July 8, 1941

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley  
New York City, New York

Re: ELLA G. WOLFE, ET AL;  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated April 11, 1941, wherein your office was requested to conduct an appropriate investigation relative to the above subjects, and to submit a report to the Bureau on or before April 20, 1941. Your attention is also directed to a telegram from the Bureau dated June 23, 1941, wherein your office was instructed to submit a report in this matter not later than June 26, 1941.

A review of the Bureau's files fails to disclose that a report has been received from your office in this matter. It is desired that a report be submitted to the Bureau within ten days receiving the receipt of this letter and that the Bureau be advised why the previous instructions were not complied with.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED

SECTION  
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61-6050-12
JUL 10 1941
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
New York, New York

HTB:ERL  
100-9078

July 28, 1941

*87*

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: BERTRAM D. WOLFE; etal  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that by letter dated  
July 28, 1941 a cover for a period of 30 days was  
placed on all first class mail addressed to the following:

BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg  
68 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Very truly yours, \_\_\_\_\_

*T. J. Donegan*  
T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for  
E. J. CONNELLEY,  
Assistant Director

RECORDED

~~INDEXED~~  
*ctf*

61-6050-13
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUL 31 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
<i>WFE</i> <i>[Signature]</i>

CH-23  
17

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

FILE NO. **100-6406**

<b>REPORT MADE AT</b> <b>LOS ANGELES, CALIF.</b>	<b>DATE WHEN MADE</b> <b>8-11-41</b>	<b>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</b> <b>8-9-41</b>	<b>REPORT MADE BY</b> <b>H. A. SMITH</b> <span style="float: right;">ned</span>
<b>TITLE</b> <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLFE alias Ella Goldberg</b>			<b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b> <b>INTERNAL SECURITY "R"</b>
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;"><b>FRED STRAUSS, Fullerton, California, possesses a splendid reputation.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;">RUC</p> <p><b>REFERENCE:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">Report of Special Agent H. T. BRUNN, New York City, 7-28-41.</p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">Reference report requested that investigation be conducted at Fullerton, California, to determine the identity and activities of FRED STRAUSS. This matter was referred to the District Attorney's Office at Santa Ana, California, who conducted a thorough investigation and submitted their report as follows:</p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">"FRED STRAUSS, residence- 644 Drake, Fullerton, telephone Fullerton 602; business address- Stein-Strauss Company, 100 South Spadra, Fullerton, telephone Fullerton No. 3.</p> <p style="margin-left: 150px;">"checked the Orange County Clerk's Registration of Voters. FRED STRAUSS registered to vote in Fullerton Precinct No. 12 on January 8, 1936, as a Republican; merchant; 6' 1", born in Germany; received citizenship by decree of court in 1911 in Los Angeles County. His</p>			
<b>APPROVED AND FORWARDED:</b> <i>[Signature]</i>		<b>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</b>	
<b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</b> 5 Bureau 2 New York City 1 Boston 1 Washington Field 2 Los Angeles		<p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">100-6406-14</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">AUG 13 1941</p> <p style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">EX-10</p>	
		<b>RECORDED</b> <b>INDEXED</b>	

wife, Mrs. ESTHER STRAUSS, registered to vote on March 4, 1936, in Fullerton precinct No. 12; giving the address of 644 N. Drake, between Malvern and Union, Fullerton; Republican; housekeeper, 5' 6"; born in Kansas.

"The Orange County Assessor's Office records show that FRED STRAUSS owns the following property:

"TRACT NO. 588 S 10 FT (Ex. E 85.13 ft) Lot 29 All (Ex. E. 85.13 Ft.) 10 FULLERTON CITY.

"A check of the Orange County Directory for 1941 shows FRED STRAUSS and his wife, ESTHER, residing at 644 Drake, Fullerton; his occupation as Vice President of STEIN-STRAUSS CO., a department store combined with a grocery store and market, located at 100 S. Spadra, Fullerton. The directory gives FELIX STEIN as the president, FRED STRAUSS as the vice president.

"District Attorney GEORGE F. HOLDEN states that FRED STRAUSS is a member of Elks Lodge No. 1345. Mr. HOLDEN, being a past Exalted Ruler of this lodge, has known Mr. STRAUSS for many years and states he has always been considered a good American citizen. Mr. HOLDEN states that STRAUSS also is a member of Fullerton American Legion Post No. 142.

"Checked with the Northern Orange County Credit Bureau. Their records show that FRED STRAUSS was 50 to 52 years of age in 1940, and his wife is ESTHER M. STRAUSS. STRAUSS owns his own home at 644 N. Drake, Fullerton, and has been in partnership with FELIX STEIN for over 20 years. In October of 1938 FRED STRAUSS borrowed \$2400.00 from the Fullerton Building and Loan Association, payable at \$28.30 per month. STRAUSS is prompt in his payments and the Fullerton Building and Loan reports that loans made to STRAUSS in the past have always proven satisfactory and been paid promptly. The First National Bank of Fullerton reports a small personal checking account held with them since January 2, 1925; they have made no loans to STRAUSS and he is a satisfactory customer. The Security-First National Bank of Fullerton reported that STRAUSS has a small 3-figure checking account with them since 1935, and this bank has loaned STRAUSS up to \$400 unsecured, and which STRAUSS repaid satisfactorily. The Credit Bureau's record shows that the Tract No. 588, etc., shown above in the Assessor's Office records is the property that the Fullerton Building and Loan has the \$2400 contract on, charging an interest of 7.3/10%. On 3-1-40 this property was homesteaded. The Credit Bureau records also show that STRAUSS has approximately 50% interest in the Stein-Strauss, Inc.; prior to 1924 the Credit Bureau records show that FRED STRAUSS was sole owner of FRED STRAUSS & CO., Fullerton, but consolidated with another firm known as STEIN, HOPPE and HAX. Prior to STRAUSS' going into business for himself he worked as salesman for the firm of STERN and GOODMAN of Fullerton. The store that FRED STRAUSS and FELIX STEIN now operate consists of a men's furnishings store and a grocery and market. This firm does a large amount of business; is well known and highly regarded in the community and is considered one of the oldest and best known in the district. The Credit Bureau reports that they are unable to obtain any definite estimate as to FRED STRAUSS' income.

"Checked with the Orange County Credit Bureau of Santa Ana. They report that the Northern Orange County Credit Bureau asked for a report on FRED and ESTHER STRAUSS, but they had no trade record. In October, 1938, two reconveyances of trust deed and a new trust deed to Fullerton Building and Loan Association was issued on the following property: Part of Lot 30 and Part of Lot 29, Tract 588; for \$2400.00. March 1, 1940, STRAUSS filed declaration of homestead on this property.

"Interviewed THOMAS McFADDEN, Northern Orange County attorney, and a charter member of Anaheim Elks Lodge. Mr. McFADDEN states that he has known STRAUSS since 1918, and that STRAUSS is a German-Jew and from talk around that he has heard, STRAUSS got his mother out of Germany within the last two years and his mother now lives in San Francisco. FRED STRAUSS was in the U.S. Army during the World War and saw service in France, and is also a charter member of the Fullerton American Legion Post. Mr. McFADDEN states that STRAUSS is a great talker, but he has never heard him say anything of a subversive nature; nor has STRAUSS shown any indications of having been interested in any Communistic activities whatsoever.

"Mr. McFADDEN states that it is his opinion that FRED STRAUSS is definitely not disloyal. Mr. McFADDEN states that FRED STRAUSS' partner, FELIX STEIN is also a very good fellow; considered a good citizen and is believed to be a cousin of FRED STRAUSS. Mr. McFADDEN states that STRAUSS is a very good fellow except when he has had a few drinks, and when he is drinking he is obstreperous and has caused some of the boys in the Elks Lodge to set him in his place. Mr. McFADDEN states that the man who knows the most about FRED STRAUSS would be HAROLD STERN, c/o the Stern Realty Company, Hoss Building, Los Angeles, California. Mr. McFADDEN states that STRAUSS' partner, FELIX STEIN has a daughter, BABETTE STEIN, whose nickname is BOBBY, and who is a secretary to the well known Santa Ana attorney, STANLEY REINHAUS. Mr. McFADDEN also is past Exalted Ruler of the Elks Lodge of Anaheim.

"Interviewed LEO FRIIS, City Attorney of Anaheim, and also a past Exalted Ruler of Anaheim Elks Lodge. Mr. FRIIS states that FRED STRAUSS has belonged to the Elks Lodge for years; is a highly respected business man in the City of Fullerton, and on the whole, considered a very good citizen. However, there are certain members of the Elks Lodge who at times, (like himself) did have to sit down on STRAUSS when he was drinking, because he would become obnoxious, and during a meeting was just liable to speak out loud and call to the Exalted Ruler or some of the other officers without recognition from the chair. Mr. FRIIS states that FRED STRAUSS has never been connected with any subversive activities that he knows of, and has served on committees, especially the charity committee for the Elks Lodge and has his duties in first class shape.

"Interviewed ORRIN C. CROOKE, Commander, Fullerton American Legion Post No. 142, 1201 N. Harvard, Fullerton. Mr. CROOKE states that FRED STRAUSS has been a member of the Fullerton American Legion Post for over 20 years and has been very active in relief work, especially during the flood and the earthquake, and has always served his committee duties in good shape, including Americanization committee. Mr. CROOKE states that FRED STRAUSS was telling

about his parents being in Germany and of the hard time he had getting them out of Germany, and mentioned that they (his parents) are now living in San Francisco. Mr. CROOKE states that STRAUSS is a partner to STEIN and the two men are cousins, and are considered good American citizens, and appear to be very patriotic. Mr. CROOKE states that FRED STRAUSS served overseas during the first World War.

"(While investigating a criminal matter over at Fullerton with Chief of Police JOHN GREGORY, the name of FRED STRAUSS was brought up and Chief of Police GREGORY stated that FRED STRAUSS was really all right; having turned in several subversive individuals to his (GREGORY'S) department for investigation.)

"Interviewed ALBERT LAUNER, attorney, Chapman Bldg., Fullerton, California. Mr. LAUNER states that he has represented FRED STRAUSS off and on for the past 15 years; that FRED STRAUSS belongs to the same Masonic Lodge that he (Launer) does, which is Azure Lodge 533, Fullerton. FRED STRAUSS is also a charter member of the Rotary Club and the Elks Lodge and the American Legion. Mr. LAUNER states as far as he knows, FRED STRAUSS and his wife ESTHER STRAUSS do not go to church, but that his little daughter MARILYN, who is 14 years old, does go to the Methodist Sunday School. Mr. LAUNER states that FRED STRAUSS is a cousin to his partner, FELIX STEIN and STEIN'S daughter, BOBBY STEIN, formerly worked for him (LAUNER) but now works in Santa Ana for STANLEY REINHAUS. MR. LAUNER states that he drew up a paper for FRED STRAUSS which may be of some interest to us. Mr. LAUNER produced this paper, which was an affidavit, giving power of attorney on December 6, 1938 to Mr. SOLLY GOLDSCHMIDT, 804 W. 180th Street, New York City, N.Y. This instrument giving Mr. GOLDSCHMIDT power of attorney was to deal with the U.S. Immigration officials on behalf of FRED STRAUSS' relatives, namely, MRS. RICKA STRAUSS, MRS. IDA STRAUSS and Mr. SEIGMUND STRAUSS, arriving on the steamer Statendam, approximately 12-23-38. FRED STRAUSS in this instrument encumbered himself for all expenses, etc., guaranteeing the care, support, etc., of the above mentioned three individuals. Mr. LAUNER states that the three individuals mentioned in this instrument are residing in San Francisco, but where, he doesn't know. Mr. LAUNER states that FRED STRAUSS is moderately well-to-do, a good citizen and a good business man, well thought of in the community and is considered a very good fellow for a Jew, as is his cousin, FELIX STEIN. MR. LAUNER states that approximately two years ago STEIN and STRAUSS' wholesale creditors in Los Angeles, through the Board of Trade in Los Angeles, took over the store and that after a short time the creditors were paid off and the situation straightened out. Mr. LAUNER states, however, that he didn't represent STRAUSS in this matter. Mr. LAUNER states that FRED STRAUSS is approximately 52 years of age; 6'2", 175 pounds, brown hair, completely bald on top; brown eyes; wears glasses; smooth shaven; medium complexion; neat dresser, and speaks with a German-Jew accent.

"There is no criminal record in Orange County on FRED STRAUSS."

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
Post Office Box #2344  
Boston, Massachusetts

September 24, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: BERTRAM D. WOLFE;  
ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that a mail cover that was placed on the mail of the above-named subjects with the Postmaster, WILLIAM H. COBRAL, has been removed as subjects left Provincetown, Massachusetts for their residence in Brooklyn, New York.

Very truly yours,

*V. W. Peterson*  
V. W. PETERSON  
Special Agent in Charge

HFH:her  
100-2068

CH-13<sup>169</sup>

EX-2  
RECORDED

61-6050-15  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
5 SEP 29 1941  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FIVE

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-23533-7958



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.**

FILE NO. **100-2068** her

<b>REPORT MADE AT</b> <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	<b>DATE WHEN MADE</b> <b>9/23/41</b>	<b>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</b> <b>9/6/41</b>	<b>REPORT MADE BY</b> <b>H. F. HOWARD</b>
<b>TITLE</b> <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE;</b> <b>ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg</b>			<b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b> <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (B)</b>
<b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> Subjects left Provincetown, Mass., Labor Day returning to their home, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. Not active with local Communist members during stay in Provincetown, Mass. Pertinent information of mail cover set forth in report.			
<b>R U C</b>			
<b>Reference:</b> Report of Special Agent H. T. BRUNN, New York City, dated 7/28/41. Report of Special Agent H. F. HOWARD, Boston, Mass., dated 7/24/41.			
<b>Details:</b> <u>AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS.</u> Chief ANTHONY P. TARVER'S advised agent that BERTRAM and ELLA WOLFE left Provincetown the day after Labor Day for their home in New York City leaving a notice for their mail to be forwarded to their residence at 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York. <u>BERTRAM WOLFE</u> and his wife <u>ELLA</u> were observed during their stay at Provincetown this summer by special officers of chief of police who reported the following information that during their stay in Provincetown, they had remained by themselves and had not associated with many of the known communists residing in Provincetown.			
The following additional information was obtained by Chief TARVER's department regarding subjects:			
They resided at 582½ Commercial St., the residence of <u>ELISE SEARS</u> and <u>WALTER SEARS</u> , SEARS being employed in the Post Office at Provincetown. Further that they had previously stayed at the SEARS' home during the			
<b>APPROVED AND FORWARDED:</b>	<b>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</b>		
<b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</b> ⑤ - Bureau 3 - New York 3 - Boston		<b>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</b> <div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">61-6059-16</div> <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">SEP 29 1941</div>	
<b>CH-8</b>		<b>RECORDED</b> <b>INDEXED</b>	



past two summers and are well liked by both Mr. and Mrs. SEARS. Further that Mrs. ELLA WOLFE's (former name was ELLA GOLDBERG) brother, BARNETT GOLDBERG, was also staying at the SEARS' home and had stayed there for several years; that he is considered by the SEARS family as a well educated Jewish individual who has expressed his hatred for HITLER on many occasions.

No information was available relative to the residence of BARNETT GOLDBERG or his occupation.

The following information is the result of a mail cover that was placed with Postmaster WILLIAM H. COHRAL of Provincetown, Mass. The following is a list of the publications that were received by BERTRAM WOLFE and his wife regularly during their stay in Provincetown, Mass.:

Letters from "Keep America Out of War Congress"  
22 East 17th Street, New York City, N. Y.

"The New Republic"

One letter from S. REILLY, International Observer,  
142 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

"Fourth International" from the Forth International  
Publication Association, 116 University Place, New York City.

"Argentina Libre"

"The Militant" from the Militant Publishing Association,  
116 University Place, New York City.

Letter from the Citizens' Peace Petition, Committee Room 415,  
22 East 17th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Letter from EDITORIAL ERICCLA, Santiago, Chile, South America.

"The New International Magazine"

"The Socialist Courier" from East 15th Street, New York City.

Letters from "Keep America Out of War Congress", 22 East  
17th Street, New York City.

No leads are being set out to conduct any investigation relative to this mail cover. A list of the mail cover is being retained in the files of the Boston Field Division.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

FILE NO. **100-5172**

REPORT MADE AT <b>WASHINGTON, D. C.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>10-1-41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9-16-41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>LOUIS LOEBL</b> <div style="text-align: right;"><b>LL:LS</b></div>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM D. WOLFE, et al</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

List of publications written by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE** obtained from Library of Congress and set out herein. Look-Out Notices posted with the Visa Division, State Department, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, for information indicative of the entry into the United States of **MARCEAU PIVERT**.

- RUC -

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
FILED

**REFERENCE:**

Report of Special Agent **H. T. BRUNN**, dated July 23, 1941, at New York City.

**DETAILS:**

**AT WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Mr. **R. P. HOMES**, Assistant Reference Librarian, Library of Congress, furnished Agent from the indices of the Library, with the titles of the following publications authored by **BERTRAM D. WOLFE**:

10-1-41  
REC'D  
JAN 6 1961  
ANS.  
BY *McKee*

"Civil War in Spain", published by Workers Age Publishing Company, New York, 1937

"Diago Rivera", published by A. A. Knopf, New York, 1939

"MARX and America", published by John Dee Publishing Company, New York, 1934

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>SK McKee</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 3 - Asst. Dir. E. J. CONNELLEY, NYC 2 - Boston 2 - Washington Field		61-6020-17	
		OCT 1 1941	

"How Class Collaboration Works", published by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago, 1926

"Nature of the Capitalist Crisis", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1935

"Our Heritage from 1776", published by the New Workers School, New York, 1926

"Things we Want to Know", published by the Workers Age Publishing Company, New York, 1934

"Trotsky Opposition", published by the Workers Library, no location given, no date indicated

"What is Communist Opposition", published by the Communist Party, New York, 1933

In addition to the above books, Subject was also the author of the text to "Diago Rivera's Portrait of America - 1934" and "Portrait of Mexico - 1937", both published in New York by COVICI FRIEDL; also, in collaboration with NORMAN THOMAS, Subject wrote a book entitled "Keep America Out of War", published by Frederick A. Stokes, in New York, in 1939. WOLFE was also the Editor of the magazine, "Communist", from November, 1927 until December, 1928, and had written a good many periodicals which are not indexed under the name of the author, however.

With reference to MARCEAU PIVERT, formerly of Paris, France, who was admitted to the United States on August 28, 1939, and who under orders from the Immigration Authorities, departed from the United States on July 20, 1940, for Mexico, requests for appropriate Look-Out Notices have been directed to the Visa Division, State Department, and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, for any information indicative of PIVERT's readmission into the United States.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

NY FILE NO. **100-9078 AFW**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK, N. Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11/3/41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/25/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. T. BRUNN</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE; ELLA G. WOLF, alias Ella Goldberg</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - R</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION formed in Germany, in 1927. U. S. affiliation formed in 1933. Has been active in obtaining the emigration of anti-Nazis from Germany. The New York group is headed by DR. STERLING SPERO, Professor of Labor at New York University. Obtain its funds through voluntary contributions and mail solicitations. List of individuals presently applying for visas from France and sponsored by the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION set out. BERTRAM D. WOLFE not active in the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION but was used as a sponsor for the THETSEN application through his personal friendship with SHEBA STRUNSKY, Executive Secretary of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. NEW WORLD RES SETTLEMENT FUND INC., is an organization interested in resettling victims of the Spanish Revolution in a community being developed in Ecuador.

AGENCY \_\_\_\_\_  
REC'D \_\_\_\_\_  
REV'T FORN. \_\_\_\_\_  
BY \_\_\_\_\_

*Signature*  
JAN 6 1942  
*Stamps and initials*

- P -

**REFERENCE:** Report of Special Agent H. T. Brunn, New York, dated July 28, 1941.

**DETAILS:** MRS. SH. BA. GOODMAN, who is commonly known as SHEBA STRUNSKY, was interviewed at the office of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City. It

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<div style="position: absolute; bottom: 5px; left: 5px;">COPIES OF THIS REPORT</div>		18	
5- Bureau (Enclosure) 2- Los Angeles 2- Boston 2- Washington Field 3- New York		NOV 4 1941 <i>Handwritten notes and stamps</i>	

should be noted that Miss STRUNSKY is a niece of the STRUNSKY who writes a column in the NEW YORK TIMES entitled TOPICS OF THE TIMES. Miss STRUNSKY advised that INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION was an organization first formed in Germany about 1927 and that ALBERT EINSTEIN was one of the original sponsors in Germany. The purpose of the organization in Germany was to assist victims of fascist aggression in Italy to obtain transportation and visas out of Italy.

After the rise of Hitler in Germany, the organization took for its purpose the relief of victims from Nazi and fascist aggression. A group was formed in the United States in approximately 1933 for this purpose. Miss STRUNSKY stated that the sponsors, as previously set out, were not particularly active in this group. The individuals most active were herself and Dr. STUBING SPERO, Professor of Labor at New York University.

She advised that the organization had originally been formed through Dr. SPERO'S efforts and through the efforts of Miss FREDA KLOCHWEY, who is presently the Treasurer of the organization.

In connection with the individuals whose release from Germany had been effected, Miss STRUNSKY advised that the organization attempts to make a very complete investigation into the background of these persons prior to sponsoring their release. She stated that they were very strict in attempting to weed out communists and also Nazis, being primarily interested in political refugees of a liberal viewpoint in a strict sense of the word.

She stated that prior to the outbreak of the war the organization had effected the release of approximately 200 persons. Prior to the war the organization had a European representative in Paris by the name of OCTAVE BIQUARD whom she described as liberal French businessman. Miss STRUNSKY stated that BIQUARD had not been heard of since the invasion of Paris. She stated that their present contact in Europe was through the EMERGENCY RESERVE COMMITTEE which was formed since the fall of France with headquarters in Marseilles. This organization is headed by Dr. FRANK KINGDOM, who is Assistant Secretary of the organization called DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES, with offices at 122 East 42nd Street.

The EMERGENCY RESERVE COMMITTEE has an office in Marseilles under Mr. VARTON FRY and the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION works through this office through an individual by the name of CARL STERNBERG, who is located in Marseilles. Miss STRUNSKY advised that STERNBERG is a political refugee himself and has recently obtained his visa to the United States.

Cases are referred to the EMERGENCY RESERVE COMMITTEE in Marseilles and STERNBERG attempts to investigate and recommend those cases in which he believes the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION would be interested. Miss STRUNSKY also stated that cases are also referred to them by relatives in the United States and that these two sources were the origin of most of their cases. She stated that since the war the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION has not been able to obtain the release of any individuals from Germany but they are working on those individuals who are in France, having fled from Germany. In connection with the investigation conducted of their applicants, Miss STRUNSKY advised that inquiries were made of references, relatives and also Communist, liberal and labor groups in the United States with world wide contacts in an attempt to eliminate any Communists and bonafide Nazis.

She stated that the association was financed through benefits, mail solicitation and private contributions. In this respect she explained that the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION had recently had a drive with the NEW WORLD SETTLEMENT FUND INC., under the title "JOINT CAMPAIGN FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES".

In connection with the application of HANS THIESSEN, Miss STRUNSKY advised that EDWARD D. WOLFE had been requested to sponsor this application because of his personal friendship with Miss STRUNSKY. She stated that WOLFE was not particularly active in the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION although he had been named as a sponsor in the original organization. She stated that WOLFE was unacquainted with THIESSEN personally.

In connection with the sponsor FRED STRAUSS of Fullerton, California, Miss STRUNSKY advised that STRAUSS

was a personal friend of THEISSEN and had no connection with WOLF or the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. Miss STRUNSKY denied any connection between the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION and the LOVESTONITES.

In connection with FRANCIS HENSEN, Miss STRUNSKY stated that he was one of the original sponsors of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. She advised that he was not active now.

It is noted that the COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM maintains the same address as the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. Miss STRUNSKY stated that this committee was formed by a group of liberal professors to combat Communist Party propaganda in the United States. She stated that the organization paid \$10.00 a month for desk space in the office of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION but that recently the activities of the organization have practically ceased. She advised that Mrs. ISABELL LUMBERG, the wife of FERDINAND LUMBERG, a writer, was head of this organization.

Miss STRUNSKY was questioned concerning MARTIN TEMPLE. She advised that TEMPLE is an American business man who has lived in Mexico for many years. She stated that he is a close friend of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. She recalled TEMPLE had a shoe and fur factory in Mexico City.

In connection with Miss PAUL MICHAELS, Miss STRUNSKY advised that she was connected with the LOVESTONITES in the Independent Labor League of America but that she did not know her very well.

In connection with MARCEAU PIVERT, Miss STRUNSKY advised that this individual was, to the best of her knowledge, still in Mexico. She stated that she had known him when he was in the United States although it was a casual acquaintance. She continued by stating that he was a close friend of BERTRAM D. WOLFE. According to Miss STRUNSKY, PIVERT was not one of the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION cases and never had any close association with this organization.

Miss STRUNSKY supplied the following list of INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION cases presently pending in Washington, with the date on which they were submitted:

Name	Date
MARIE BROUNTSCH	MARCH 20, 1941
WALTER BLASIG	MARCH 17, 1941
HERMANN BORTFELD	APRIL 16, 1941
WILHELM JACOB BOERTER	FEBRUARY 13, 1941
ALFRED EYEDLER	OCTOBER 30, 1941
SOPHIE GOLDSTEIN	NOVEMBER 7, 1941
WILHELM KESSLER	DECEMBER 31, 1940
ANTON GRYL NICK	FEBRUARY 27, 1941
LEONIE KLOTH	MARCH 20, 1941
KURT RAFF	MARCH 24, 1941
GUSTAV STERN & fiancée	
CLARA BERGER	MAY 12, 1941
HANS TH. RESSIN	FEBRUARY 24, 1941
ADOLPH WILHELM	APRIL 21, 1941

In connection with the NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC., Miss STRUNSKY referred agent to Miss AMERICA GONZALEZ, Executive Secretary. Miss GONZALEZ stated that the NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC. was formed after the Spanish War in 1939. The FUND had entered into a contract with the Government of Ecuador for the purpose of forming a colony in Ecuador for the resettlement of Spanish farmers. In this connection Miss GONZALEZ turned over to agent, a copy of the principle provisions of this contract which is being enclosed with copies of this report to the Bureau. Miss GONZALEZ advised further that the organization was financed in a similar manner to the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION. Most of the contributions were received in response to mail solicitations. She stated that because of the war situation the work has been very much interfered with but that they were attempting to get a colony started in Ecuador and hoped that the organization machinery would be set up so that after the war they could colonize a group with Spanish farmers. At present they have moved approximately 50 Santa Dominican families to a new agricultural community in Ecuador.

The officers of the NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC. are:

OSCAR CARRISON VELLARD, N.Y. - Chairman  
 JOHN DOS PASOS, New York - Secretary  
 MARGARET ED SILVER - Treasurer  
 AMERICA GONZALEZ - Executive Secretary

The New York Telephone Company has advised that there were no long distance telephone calls made from the apartment of BERTRA D. WOLFE or from the apartment of SHEBA STRUNSKY



100-9078

for the past three months. The New York Police Department advised that they have been unable to locate a criminal record on BERTRAM D. WOLFE or ELLA GOLDBERG WOLFE. To date the mail covers on BERTRAM D. WOLFE and SHUBA SIRUNSKY have been non-productive.

ENCLOSURE TO THE BUREAU; COPY OF THE CONTRACT OF THE NEW WORLD RESETTLEMENT FUND INC. WITH ECUADORIAN GOVERNMENT.

100-9078

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

\*At the Congressional Library, will review the index of authors and obtain all publications listed for BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE.

\*Will check the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to attempt to ascertain whether any applications have been made by MARCEAU PIVERT for entrance into the United States since he left in 1940.

- P E N D I N G -

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

November 19, 1941

100-0-2436  
NAP:GEW

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;  
THREAT ON WRIGHT AERONAUTICAL CORPORATION  
PATTERSON, NEW JERSEY  
INTERNAL SECURITY (Bureau File 100-41790)

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter of September 24, 1941, returning newspaper clippings and of laboratory examination results on material submitted by the Newark Field Division.

Inasmuch as a rather complete investigation was conducted in this matter by the Paterson, New Jersey Police Department, and inasmuch as it is believed by them to be merely the prank of a small time crook on a detective, and inasmuch as there is no evidence of any subversive attempt in this matter, no investigation is being conducted by this office.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY,  
Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURE



61-6050-18

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID

PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

1 Enclosures for Bureau Office

Re: NEW YORK FILE NO. 100-9078

788 - family man  
100 - family man

New World Resettlement Fund, Inc.

2 West 43rd Street

New York City

#### THE CONTRACT

The contract for the resettlement of five thousand refugee Spanish families in Ecuador signed by Mr. John Dos Passos for the New World Resettlement Fund with the government of Ecuador is a document which covers five pages in Spanish. Its principle provisions are:

1 - The Government grants the Fund the right to bring in Spanish colonists; to acquire or lease public and private lands; to parcel the land among the colonists; and to supervise the activities of the colonists.

2 - To import free of duty seed, agricultural implements and machinery, animals, and personal and household goods for the use of the colonists.

3 - To select the colonists for agricultural enterprises in agreement with the Diplomatic or Consular Agent designated by the Government.

4 - The Consular or Diplomatic Agent shall grant visas when the information and personal documents of the colonist assure him that the colonist is an honest worker. Collective visas will be granted to family groups.

5 - The colonists shall be principally Spanish farmers but the Fund has the right to bring to Ecuador other immigrants who are specialized in fields related to agriculture in no higher proportion than 10 per cent.

6 - The Fund shall deposit a sum of seven hundred dollars per family of seven members and one hundred dollars additional for each person over seven. This sum to be used exclusively to settle the colonists and to pay for their maintenance until they become self-supporting.

7 - The first agricultural colony to include not less than ten families who are to be established during the first year. The Fund can bring in up to five thousand families during the period of this contract which is for five years.

8 - The products raised by the colonists shall be exported free of export duty, as well as the by-products of their farms, whether said products and by-products are exported directly by the colonists or through the mediation of the Fund, but in any case the benefits shall accrue to the colonists exclusively.

9 - The colonists are free to acquire Ecuadorean citizenship as provided by the laws of the country. At all times, however, the colonists shall enjoy the same civil rights granted to all other foreigners.

10 - The colonists shall always enjoy the constitutional rights of religious freedom.

11 - The following Ministers are empowered to execute this Decree: The Ministers of Social Welfare; and Colonization; of Immigration; of Agriculture; of Foreign Relations; and of the Interior. Signed by the Acting President, Andres F. Cordova, National Palace, Quito, May 6, 1940.

*lin*

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
New York, New York

*43.* FLP:JH  
100-9078

December 24, 1941

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE;  
ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent H. D. Brunn, New York, dated November 3, 1941.

A review of the New York file on instant case reveals that all leads have been covered, inasmuch as Special Agent Brunn advises that the mail cover on subjects have produced negative results.

This case is being placed in a closed status.

Very truly yours,

*P. E. Foxworth*  
P. E. FOXWORTH,  
Assistant Director

RECORDED

EX-13

*212*  
*DEC 30 1941*

61-6050-19
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 26 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*EX-13*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK, NEW YORK**

FILE NO. **100-2068 hgm**

REPORT MADE AT <b>BOSTON, MASS.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12/29/41</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>11/29/41</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>P. M. BRAD</b>
TITLE <b>BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE ELLA G. WOLFE, alias Ella Goldberg</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (R)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Investigation made by Provincetown, Massachusetts Police Department reflects that Subjects spent summer at Provincetown. Subject Bertram David Wolfe has written articles and books of Mexico and Spain in recent years and one entitled "Keep America Out of War" in 1939. He was stated to have joined the Communist Party in 1919 but as soon as the raids took place he shirked all party activities, disappeared from his post and failed to show up at committee meetings, though his wife continued to insist that his party salary should be paid. Other members of the party disapproved to what seemed to them to be cowardice in a leader, in what appeared to be a flight to Mexico. Mail cover by Provincetown Post Office shows that Subjects have received various periodicals of a Socialist and Communist nature.

- R U C -

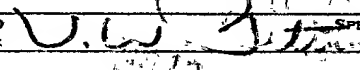
**REFERENCE:**

Report of Special Agent H. F. REARD at Boston, Massachusetts, dated 9/23/41.

**DETAILS:**

Under date of August 9, 1941 a letter was received from Chief of Police ANTHONY P. THOMAS, Provincetown, Massachusetts with which was enclosed a copy of a report of a special officer of the Provincetown Police Department. This report described subject

BERTRAM D. WOLFE AS - - -

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
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Height:	6 feet
Weight:	158 Lbs.
Complexion:	tanned
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Brown
Age:	About 42 yrs.
Nationality:	U. S.
Associates:	Harry Goodman, Broker Sheba Goodman, nee Stronsky
Peculiarities:	Has large nose.

Subject ELLA GOLDBERG is described as follows:

Height:	5' 3" or 4"
Weight:	135 lbs.
Complexion:	tanned
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Brown
Build:	Short and stocky
Reputation	Good
Age:	about 44 yrs.
Nationality:	Believed to be U.S.
Occupation:	Says she is a teacher in Brooklyn.

The report is further quoted as follows:

"According to Who's Who in America, published by the A. N. Languis Company, Chicago, 1940-41 Edition, Volume 221; on file at the Provincetown Public Library. Page 2812.

BARTMAN DAVID WOLFE, writer, born Brooklyn, N.Y., Jan. 19, 1896; son of William D. and Ray (Santer) W.; B. A. Boll. City of New York, 1916; student U. of Mexico, 1922-25; M.A., Columbia U., 1931; married, ELLA GOLDBERG, April 18, 1917. Teacher English Boys High School, Brooklyn, 1916-17, Miguel Lerdo High School, Mexico City, 1922-25 Director Workers School, N.Y., N.Y., 1925-29; Free lance writer since 1934. member Phi Beta Kappa. Author: Portrait of America, 1934; Portrait of Mexico 1937; Civil War in Spain, 1937; Diego Rivera; His Life and Times, 1939; Deathless Days, 1940; Keep America out of War, 1939; also articles. Home address 68 Montague St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Reputation: quiet and orderly and good pay.

They were brought to 582<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Commercial St. by ELSIE SEARS wife of W. SEARS at Post Office and the Goldbergs will be at Sears house supposed sister of Ella Goldberg or relatives of.

The above address checks with prior information.  
Came here about July 1st and leave about Labor Day.

Where were they between 1917 and 1922? This is a blank in Who's Who. A BERTMAN D. WOLFE appears in the index on page #611, of, I Confess, by Benjamin Gitlow, Provincetown Public Library, page 27, 33-34, 38, 140-1, 400, 404-8, 419, 510, 512, 525, 529-30, 533-4, 547-9, 564-8. Mrs. WOLFE, 278.

531 yet Wolfe had written the main attacks on Trotsky for the American Party.

34 One of the leaders and organizers of the Communist party in America.

27 One of the city committee of New York to establish the Party in America.

564 Removed from all positions in the party and in the Communist International.

"652 - Benjamin Gitlow, Plff, in Err.,  
People of the State of New York.

"69 LAW ED. Oct. Term, 1924 - U.S. 266-268.  
(Argued April 12, 1923, Restored to docket for  
argument May 7, 1923. Reargued November 23, 1923.  
Decided June 8, 1925).

ELLA GOLDBERG's brother, is at present in Provincetown, at William Sears home on Wiley Rd., his name is Barnett Goldberg.

Their friends are a family of HARRY GOODMAN and SHEBA GOODMAN nee Stronsky and have spoken to Mrs. Sears about having

something to do about getting refugees into this country. BARNETT GOLDBERG is a large powerful man, grayish hair, and has stayed with the Sears Family for several years, are quiet and pay well, considered by the Sears family as well educated Jewish people, country of origin unknown. They have expressed their hate for Hitler.

BERTRAM WOLFE and wife ELLA GOLDBERG stayed with the Sears family for two years in summertime and are well liked by them. The wife ELLA GOLDBERG is supposed to be a school teacher in New York and will be retired in a couple of years.

"Who's Who" is blank for five years in referring to this couple. But puts them both in Mexico from 1922-25.

There is a blank between 1917 when they married, to 1922 in Mexico. Gitlow in his book page 140; In charge of this caucus Lovestone placed his crony, BERTRAM D. WOLFE, who came as a delegate from California. Wolfe had been Lovestone's associate when the "National Left Wing" was first organized. He followed Lovestone into the Communist Party, organized jointly with the Russian Federation in 1919. As soon as the raids took place he shirked all party activities, disappeared from his post and failed to show up at committee meetings, though his wife continued to insist that his party salary should be paid. After many months news began to trickle in that Wolfe had left the country and had made his residence in Mexico. The rank and file comrades did not relish what seemed to them cowardice in a leader, and openly expressed their disapproval of what looked like flight to Mexico.

The fact that his wife is or is not a school teacher and will be retired on pension in a few years, does not check with being a free lance writer since 1934".

The Boston Field Office file contains letters which have not been previously reported in this case from the Postmaster at Provincetown, Massachusetts which give the results of mail covers. The letters are dated from August 11th to August 23rd and names the following individuals as having corresponded with Subjects:

"The Leader from the Leader" 318 Regent Park Rd, Longon, H3; one letter from the "New Republic", 40 East 49 street, N.Y.C.; The "New International" a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism; one letter from J. SAFOMINOFF LOPEZ, #28, Mexico, D.F., and one card

from CAMEL M. ROSE, Box 248, Carmel, N.Y.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from ALICE L. DODGE, 22 East 17 Street, N.Y.C.; letter from S. SCHWARTZ, 424 Beach 127 Hut, Rockaway Parc, L.I., N.Y.; one letter from Editorial Ericlla, S. A. Santiago, De Chile; one paper, "The Call from N.Y.C."; for ELLA G. WOLFE, one insured from R. GOLDBERG, 41-22-42 Street, Sunnyside, L.I., N.Y.

One letter for BERTRAM D. WOLFE from 113 East 19th Street; one letter from ROSE LAMB, 307 West 76 Street, New York City; letter from the "The New Republic, 40 East 49 th St., N.Y.C.; letter from R. H. MACY Co., Herald Sq., N.Y.C.; one registered printed matter from HAMILTON FILE, Edison Ho. 40 Mexico; one letter for ELLA WOLFE, from Red Bank, N.J. and one card for both Mr and Mrs. B. WOLFE from E. POEHL, 3 Cr. Kehlo, Agnaye 22 Aysaeren D-1, Mexico.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from S. REICHMAN, International Observer, 142 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.; letter and books from The N. Y. Herald Tribune, 230 West 41 Street, N.Y.C.; one magazine, Fourth International, Fourth International Pub. Association, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.; for both parties on one card from Elaine C. Herb, mailed at Newark, N.J.; two papers the Argentina Libre.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from H. F. T. Manchester 8, Mexico, D. F. ; one book from William Manon Co., 386 Fourth Ave., N.Y.C. and from 3548 One card 2 cents for magazine; and for Mrs. BERTRAM D. WOLFE, from Ethel, Brooklyn, N.Y. one card.

Letter addressed to BERTRAM D. WOLFE from Thirty third floor, Metropolitan Tower, One Madison Ave., N.Y.C.; one book from Herald & Tribune, 230 West 41 Street, N.Y.C.; Books, Herald Tribune, one newspaper The Call, Miss Ella G. Wolfe, the Nation, and the New Republic, for Mr. and Mrs. BERTRAM D. WOLFE, one letter from Barocharing, The Am. Seminar Holderness School, Plymouth, N.H., one letter to Mrs. B. WOLFE, from Scheger, R.F.D. No. 1., Lebanon, N.J.

Letter to BERTRAM D. WOLFE, from "Keep America Out of War Congress", 22 East 17th Street, N.Y.C.; one third class letter from 112 East 19th Street, N.Y.C. for Ella and Bert Wolfe, one card from Tess, South Wellfleet, Massachusetts.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

**ACTIVITIES OF**

**BERTRAM D. WOLFE**

**BOOK REVIEWER FOR N.Y. WORLD**

**WITNESS ON RUSSIAN SUBJECTS**

This party is entirely competent for the present.  
He is one of the original communists in these Uni.

Wolfe attended the first meeting of the formation of CP  
at Chicago, Feb. 1-4, 1918.

On June 21, 1919 in New York City at the left wing sec-  
tion at 43 W. 29th St., a conference was held at which time the na-  
tional publication "Revolutionary Age" brought together the leaders and  
as the results the group took their stand with the Russian Communist  
Party. At this meeting one of the real leaders was Wolfe. This na-  
tional conference set up what is now the Communist Party.

Here Ruthenberg--Wolfe--Ferguson--Cohen and 50 or  
up committees and William Gross Lloyd of Chicago was the chair.

A national Council of 9 members was set up, consisting of  
Praja-Ruthenberg-Ferguson-John Hallam-James Jarkin-E. McElwain  
Ben Gitlow-Cohen and Bertram D. Wolfe.

This council on June 26th, issued a manifesto which was  
adopted, was the base of the new powerful communist party.

When the Emergency Peace Federation was in operation at  
the start of 1st World War, it was Bertram D. Wolfe of Brooklyn who  
was one of the real leaders. Wolfe also was carrying on his work  
as one of the chief organizers of new Communist Party. He was  
associate editor of "Communist World". All this time he was mixed up in  
just about every pacifist activity operating in the country. He had  
a police record in New York City, having been arrested in 1921 for  
criminal anarchy.

NOTE--See copies of Volume 2 & 3 of the Lusk Committee report on  
seditious activities in New York State--Pages 683-684-672-1022-1023-1024

61-6050-21

On page 27 of "I Confess" by Benjamin Gitlow one of the  
real original leaders in the party movement Gitlow tells us to how  
such leaders as Jay Lovestone John "Red" Joseph Brown--and  
Ben Gitlow and Bertram Wolfe were the real heads in so far as lead-  
ship was concerned.

When the national convention was held at St. Louis, Mo.



After the Union time, the authorities... After the Bridgman... going to Mexico, but his wife remained in U.S.A. and was active.

At the party national convention in 1925, William Z. Foster, set up the trade union activity and he just about ordered everybody around. His chief lieutenant was Bertram Wolfe, who then handled the educational features. Other leaders then were Jay Lovestone-Max Shachtman, James Cannon and Ruthenberg. At the caucus held after the convention Ruthenberg was the selected party leader. Jay Lovestone was the under leader while Wolfe was a liaison man.

In March 1927, Charles Ruthenberg the red leader died, and the scramble was on for the vacated leadership. Wolfe was one of the key men at all conferences.

In 1928, Earl Browder stepped into power and the star of Jay Lovestone and Bertram Wolfe went into decline.

Bertram Wolfe was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress at Moscow. After the conference he did not return to United States. He remained in Moscow as the representative of the party, replacing Louis Langdon who returned to U.S.A. and was made Secretary of the International Labor Defense.

In 1929 Wolfe was ordered to go to Korea for special work. He refused. This caused the red leaders in Moscow to put the dam on him. In June 1929, Bertram Wolfe and Ben Gitlow were kicked out of Russia. Lovestone the leader was a prisoner for several weeks. Finally without the consent of the E.C.C.I. he sneaked out of Russia. For this act the American Communist Party expelled him a membership. Wolfe was expelled a few weeks later.

Those that were expelled then set up what was known as the United Party U.S.A. (Majority Group). After a few years of struggle Lovestone-B. Wolfe outfit gave up the struggle. The opposition was Earl Browder and William Z. Foster was too much for them. In 1931, Secy. of the Labor Division of Citizens for Committee--which actually is backed by David Dubinsky and all.

Wolfe is a graduate of City College of New York City. He is a writer, knows the radical situation in this country and also...

Conclusion--If our readers desire a full complete story of Wolfe's activities they should purchase a copy of "I Confess", by Ben Gitlow, a charter member of C.P. and for years a high ranking officer of the group. This book is tops in its line.

61-605221  
JUN 12 3 25 PM '44

DIRECTOR, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - Brief  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1969

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Prospective Witness

7/24/95

1678849/205

Both Benjamin Sattlow and Louis F. Badenz have indicated that Bertram David Wolfe is possessed of a considerable amount of information regarding the early history of the Party. Bertram Wolfe is the subject of an Internal Security R investigation, Boston origin, Bureau File No. 61-6050. The investigation in its inception was handled by both the Boston and New York Offices and the New York Office has been furnished with copies of all reports in that case. Bertram Wolfe has been interviewed from time to time by the New York Office with regard to the Communist Party and individuals connected with the communist movement. There are definite indications that Wolfe is still a Marxist and possibly a Marxist-Leninist. He is also known to have been in recent years a close associate of Jay Lovestone, former official of the Communist Party, who like Wolfe was expelled in 1929. Wolfe has been associated with Lovestone in various enterprises since that date.

It is reported that Wolfe is now preparing biographies on the great Marxist leaders and recently gave a lecture at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. There appears to be no doubt at this point that Wolfe is anti-Stalin and, therefore, anti-Communist in its strict sense. However, the possibility exists that Wolfe might not willingly discuss the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence as a basic tenet of the Communist movement particularly if he is still at heart a Leninist.

Nevertheless, since Wolfe was at one time the head of the Workers School in New York, it is believed that he should be immediately interviewed regarding the educational program of the Party during the time that he was associated with it in an official capacity. You should conduct this interview with regard to the educational program in such a way as to obtain the maximum information regarding the curriculum, textbooks, the selection of students, etc., and at the same time look for possible further approaches to Wolfe looking toward his utilization as a Government witness in connection with the revised brief.

At this time, of course, no indication should be given to Wolfe that he might be used as a Government witness. Wolfe's attitude

EX-64

INDEXED

61-6050-22



toward assisting the Government publicly in court can be discreetly sound-  
out after the historical material, believed to be in his possession, has  
been obtained through interview and after the Bureau has had the  
opportunity to analyze such material. 9970

During the course of the interview with Wolfe his knowledge  
of the historical background regarding the organization and the leader-  
ship of the Party from 1919 until 1930 should be obtained in as much  
detail as possible, predicated it, of course, on your interest in the  
educational program. For assistance in this regard, you should refer  
to the highlights in the chronology of the Party's organization as  
set out in the letter to New York in this case regarding Jay Lovestone,  
dated August 15, 1947.

The results of the interview with Wolfe should be submitted to  
the Bureau in letter form no later than seven days from the receipt of  
communication.

100-3-74

11-6050-22

SEP 6 1947

TELETYPE

Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease

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DATE 7/24/85 BY 60207/100

WASH FROM NEW YORK 4 6 1-16 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

CPUSA, BRIEF. REURLET AUG EIGHTEEN, FORTYSEVEN. BERTRAM DAVID

WOLFE CONTACTED AND INTERVIEW ARRANGED FOR WEDNESDAY, SEPT TEN, FORTY SEVEN. BUREAU TO BE NOTIFIED OF RESULTS BY SUMMARY TELETYPE.

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

New York, 7, New York.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
September 11, 1947.

Director, FBI

Attention: Mr. Pat Coyne

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - BRIEF;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE  
Prospective Witness

Dear Sir:

Rebulet of Aug. 13, 1947 in which you requested that BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE be interviewed by Agents of this Office for information in his possession concerning his tenure as Director of the Workers School, NYC, as well as information concerning the early years of the Communist Party, USA.

On Sept. 10, 1947, WOLFE was interviewed at his residence, 107 Montague St., Brooklyn, NY, by SA's Richard J. Gallagher and John F. Wacks from 1:55 p.m. until 3:35 p.m. At the outset WOLFE seemed to be agreeable and advised that he was willing to be of assistance to the FBI. However, he could not understand why he was being questioned about the Communist Party since he had left its ranks many years ago. It was appropriately explained to WOLFE that it was essential that the Agents obtain background information on the Party and it was no reflection against him that questions were being asked of him concerning the Party. The point was expressly made that he was being interviewed because it was felt he would be willing to assist the Govt. in making available information concerning the Party in its formation and educational program during its early years.

WOLFE advised that he was Director of the Workers School from 1925 to 1929. During the latter year he was also appointed National



JFW-RJC:EED  
100-31752

100-31752-100  
15 SEP 1947

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Quinn	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947.

Director of the Agitation Propaganda Department of the Party. He stated that his predecessors as Directors of the school were JULIA STUART POYNTZ and REBECCA GRECHT. He stated that it was his understanding that the former had been liquidated by the OGPU during the late thirties and he had no knowledge of GRECHT at the present time.

According to WOLFE, he issued catalogs for the school twice a year during his tenure and although he had an advisory committee to help him arrange curricula, select teachers, and assist in the running of the school, he considered them but a rubber stamp committee and advised that they had had no authority whatsoever. He seemed to take great pride in the fact that he was solely responsible for the school although he did admit that the central committee of the Communist Party passed on all his recommendations and activities. However, he stated that this committee approved everything he did. His pride also extended to the fact that he made so much money for the school and did such a wonderful job that he was made the National Director of Agit-Prop.

WOLFE advised that these catalogs contained the courses to be offered at the school, the names of the teachers who will teach the subjects, as well as a short description or outline of each course. He also advised that these catalogs in numerous instances contain the names of textbooks to be used in individual courses.

At this point in the interview attempts were made to obtain from WOLFE specific information concerning the contents of each course and the names of the courses and the faculty. These attempts met with failure because WOLFE invariably stated that "You can find them in the catalogs".

It should be noted that WOLFE advised that in the late thirties he had given to the Fifth Avenue Branch of the NY Public Library all the catalogs, outlines, mimeographed material, etc., pertaining to the school which he had in his possession. He advised that at the present time he has no papers, documents or catalogs in his possession which he used at the school or in his propaganda work.

Letter to Director  
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September 11, 1947.

WOLFE advised that the school was divided into three terms, namely, the autumn-winter term, the winter-spring term, and a summer session. He stated that the first two terms were open to non-Communists as well as Communist students and had on the faculty Communist teachers as well as non-Communist teachers. In passing, he mentioned ROGER BALDWIN and SCOTT NEARING as being typical of the non-Communist teachers. Concerning the summer session, WOLFE stated that this was held solely and exclusively for Party members, the students for which were first picked by the district leaderships and passed upon by the National leadership. He stated that the purpose of the summer session was to train Communist Party members for leadership and further advised that only members of the Communist Party were on the faculty.

WOLFE stated that unlike the Jefferson School the Workers School was held out as a Communist Party school and that the Communist Party approved his holding out the school as an official Party function.

Concerning advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by force and violence, WOLFE stated that this was never taught as such in the Workers School but in groups it was understood that eventually there must be some type of revolution to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. He stated that even in those days was prevalent the thought that the capitalists, when the Communists became powerful enough to take over as a ruling class, would resist with force and, therefore, Communists would have to combat force with force.

WOLFE further stated that the Party did not propagandize force since they had but recently gone through a tremendous struggle to obtain legal status and it would have been "foolish" for them to advocate force and violence at that time because it would have lost for them what public support they had gained. WOLFE stated that even in discussing the attaining of the dictatorship of the Proletariat by the Party, it was felt as well as taught that this could be done through peaceful means. He stated that his position on this question could be found in his pamphlet entitled, "The First American Revolution" while the Party's position on this question



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NY 100-81752

September 11, 1947

could be found in the pamphlets entitled "Platform of 1924 Campaign" and "Platform of 1928 Campaign", which he furnished the New York Public Library.

WOLFE seemed decidedly reluctant to discuss this question even on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. However, he did state that while the school did not contain any specific courses concerning revolution or forceful overthrow of the government, nevertheless "forceful statements" contained in the writings of ~~MARX~~ and ~~LENIN~~ were highlighted and stressed in various other courses given at the Workers School. He stated in reference to the "forceful statements" contained in the textbooks that the stressing of these statements did not necessarily mean revolutionary action at that time. When questioned as to the particular statements or books in which these statements were contained, he referred the Agents to the catalogs.

Concerning the origin of the Party, WOLFE stated that although he was instrumental in its formation in a remote manner since he was in Mexico at the time, he was not active in the Party until 1925 when he became Director of the Workers School. He advised that he knew nothing concrete about the Party until after this activity began in 1925.

WOLFE stated that at the time he became active in the Party's work, the Communist Party in the U. S. was already closely tied up with the Russian Communist Party and Comintern Agents were in this country directing the activities of the American Communist Party. WOLFE said that there was a constant interchange of Agents and as a result he could not remember the names of any agents. He said that these agents only appeared before small groups of top officials and at the conventions where they usually acted behind the scenes rather than openly.

WOLFE also said that it was a known fact that Comintern agents were in this country and that directives were issued guiding the policy of the American Communist Party from Moscow. He claimed that these directives were even printed at that time on occasion in the Daily Worker. He maintained, however, that the Party started spontaneously with no Soviet or Russian aid, but even in its very beginning looked to Moscow for inspiration and guidance, because Russia was considered the forerunner and the leader in scientific socialism.

Concerning the Party's connection with the Comintern, WOLFE, who had previously advised that he edited the theoretical organ of the

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September 11, 1947.

Party as well as holding the position of Director at the Workers School, stated that the Comintern never gave any directives or issued any orders which would effect the contents of the magazine. He stated that this magazine was under his sole control and consisted mostly of reprints of articles appearing in Russian periodicals and articles on current American topics.

It should be noted that WOLFE throughout the interview exhibited an injured air when attempts were made to discuss revolutionary tactics of the Party, claiming that his faction, which included LOVESTONE, were peaceful and law-abiding citizens who attempted solely to make the Communist Party an American institution independent of Soviet control. He explained that he was guilty of American exceptionalism and although at the time he deeply respected the Soviet Union for its guidance, he felt that the Communist Party should not be forced to follow directives and orders emanating in the Soviet Union.

During the interview on at least three occasions, WOLFE advised that his time was too valuable to be spent talking about his activities in the Party and incidents which occurred during his time in the Party which "happened twenty years ago". He further intimated that the Agents were fishing for information and he advised that all information that the Agents were interested in could be found in the catalogs which he had turned over to the Public Library as well as other books which had been written on the subject.

WOLFE stated that he did not believe the Communist Party to be dangerous to the security of the U. S. nor was he in full agreement with the loyalty probe presently being conducted.

It is the interviewing Agents' opinion that WOLFE is uncooperative and could not be trusted as a witness.

WOLFE was told that his advice concerning the obtaining of material from the catalogs would be followed but should important and



Letter to Director  
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September 11, 1947.

pertinent questions arise in the Agents' minds the answers to which could not be found in the catalogs, he would again be contacted. WOLFE stated that this would be agreeable to him, but he reiterated that his time is valuable and he did not like to "waste it" in this manner.

WOLFE was not advised concerning his status as a prospective witness nor was he advised of the possibility of the Communist Party, USA, being tried in the courts as a subversive organization.

Efforts will be made to examine the catalogs referred to by WOLFE at the NY Public Library, Fifth Avenue Branch, as well as the aforementioned pamphlets and pertinent material contained therein will be forwarded to the Bureau. It is not deemed advisable to recontact WOLFE unless the Bureau so desires.

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
EDWARD SCHEIDT,  
SAC.

August 23, 1954

RE: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN ITALY

Attached hereto are reports concerning political activities in Italy prepared by Harry Goldberg, a representative of Jay Lovestone, located in Rome, Italy. These documents were furnished to the Liaison Agent on August 19, 1954, by

[redacted] This material may be destroyed if of no interest to the Bureau.

b7D

Attachment

*B&D*

*Bahen*

*Bahen*  
pic  
(re Wolfe)

*file 61-6050*

*Comm Div! Wolf*

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EX-110

*61-6050-25*  
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*5-140*

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REPORT FROM ITALY

June 27, 1954

Acknowledging your short note of the 22nd, which arrived yesterday. I'm taken up with "practical" matters, so that I haven't very much time for paper work during the next week (I'm doing this at midnight), not to mention the Ed Millers who will be staying on for the whole of next week (and who are very nice people indeed) and with whom we'll be spending a lot of time, so I'll just put down the outline of the essential points re my past year's activities and leave it to you to take out of it what you want.

Activity Report

A - In Italy

1 - T.U. Work -- In line with the A.F. of L. attitude re the CISL's constituting the main base of the organized democratic, anti-communist labor movement, have worked closely and harmoniously with CISL and its leadership, nationally and locally, discussing problems jointly, making my suggestions, indicating differences (when necessary), helping in specific situation upon the request of CISL, etc.

In line also with the stated policy of the A.F. of L. re the desirability and necessity of building up as strong and united an anti-communist labor movement as possible in Italy, where the com-controlled CGIL represents the chief weapon in the hands of the PCI for creating instability and chaos, have continuously pressed the leadership of the UIL (also locally as well as nationally) to rethink the situation and try to overcome the unrealistic and detrimental ideologic prejudices it has always presented vs. the necessary ideal of democratic t.u. unity. In this connection have also continuously raised the same problem with the leaders of the PSDI and the PRI which are the 2 political parties that influence the line of the UIL behind the scenes.

2 - Discussions with Industrialists -- the future economic health of Italy, the stabilizing of the democratic structure of the country is impossible without a definite change in the direction of social progressivism on the part of the Italian industrialists who today, with very few exceptions, are characterized by narrow vision, social selfishness and especially paternalism (almost neo-feudalism), not to mention lack of courage re fighting communism as witness their playing one union off vs. another, etc. Have discussed these problems with some of the largest and most representative Italian concerns (FIAT, Olivetti, B.P.D., etc) and have pressed them on their paternalistic tendencies, on the necessity of raising wages (since their profits are great, especially in view of the laxity that prevails re paying their legitimate taxes, and which, therefore they can well afford), so as to take away from the coms one of their chief levers of fighting com-unionism and supporting the free, democratic trade unions as being in their own long-term interests as well as that of Italy as a whole. etc.,

3. Politically. Have talked, agitated, conferenced continuously with the leaders of all the democratic parties, pressing for the largest concentration of democratic forces cooperating on the political level in light of the too-great political strength of the unholy Fog-Nenni alliance, with especial attention being paid during its "mad period" of pressing for the inclusion of Nenni after last Year's June 7th elections -- to the leadership of the PSDI. Have continuously presented the line of the AFL on all outstanding, vital international problems.

4 - With our Governmental Institutions and leading personnel, from the Ambassador down, with the Political Dep't., the USIS, FOA, etc have discussed the outstanding political and economic problems facing Italy and presented the A.F. of L. viewpoint on the fight vs. communism, the trade union question, the character of Italian industrialists

Have applied great and continuous pressure here especially vs. the leadership of FOA to (in line with the discussions and agreement reached for cooperation between Meany and Stassen) direct their economic aid program here in light of consideration of concrete ways and means of helping the free trade unionists specifically and the fight against communism generally.

B - Outside Italy

1 - Work at Geneva -

a. Presented and spread about our viewpoint as expressed in our publications) on the relevant international questions. Personally in addition, continuous contacting and conferencing with representatives of Asian countries especially -- delegations, diplomatic personnel, journalists -- and presenting of our viewpoint on Indo-China, colonialism, and the fight vs. communism generally, etc.

b. Taking care of the "special business" the Committee had prepared for doing at Geneva.

2 - Maintenance of contacts in Asia, especially with Indonesians here, and in Indonesia, with the view of pressing out critical attitude re dangerous, appeasement-of-communism-developments there, both internally as well as externally (re Red China).

Since you've raised the question of the Convention, we'd like to ask whether we're coming home for it. We'd like to; we think we ought to (there are things I ought finally to report to you); we have to check up on ourselves re matters physical, etc. Let us know immediately, please, re this, if we're to come home, things being so darned crowded we'd have to make reservations immediately. It might be a good idea to wire us immediately about when you'd want us to get home.

Delivered by Jay Lovett on W.F.O.  
July 3rd

Millions of liberty-loving people throughout the world will celebrate tomorrow as a landmark in man's unending struggle for human dignity, decency and freedom.

July Fourth symbolizes even more than the birthday of our nation. Where would the world be today, if the ideals proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, the ideals which inspired the American Revolution, had not triumphed? <sup>and Mussolini</sup> Hitler <sup>and Stalin</sup> know the answer to this question. So did Stalin. So does the present Communist dictator Malenkov. Fortunately for the future of mankind, so do men and women of every color, creed, and country who love liberty and hate tyranny of every type and stripe.

Humanity finds itself in too grave a crisis to permit us the futile fanfare of jingoistic flag-waving. Those who came with Columbus or on the Mayflower were not born in California, Wisconsin, Illinois or New York. Very likely, quite a number of them would not be able to come into our country today because of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. But no legislator can deny and no law can efface from history the fact that: the ideals of freedom and the ideas of just human relationships <sup>R</sup> which have made our country great as well as strong were brought to our shores on the ships which have landed our discoverers, the forebears of our Founding Fathers, the pioneers, the builders and the defenders of our land at every critical hour.

Our country was born out of devotion to an ideal:--the ideal of political liberty and economic opportunity. This is the distinguishing feature of America as an independent country. With us, it is character not color, capacity not creed, that counts ever more. That is why I am so glad to speak of July Fourth to you who are largely Americans by choice and not by chance. Never forget that we are all equal before the law, foreign-born American and native-born American alike. Our nation is truly a people of many peoples.

I can not detail the splendid contributions made by men and women of various national origins, religions and races to the birth and building of our

country. On this occasion, we pay homage to the many millions who are not honored by statues in our public squares or glorified in our history text books. Today, we honor and salute America's unknown soldier of peace, prosperity, and progress, along with our unknown soldier of bitter battle and glorious victory.

When I now spotlight the Italian contribution to America as a fortress of freedom, I do not exclude or belittle the role of any other constituent national group in our history. In merely pointing to one of the various sources of America's inspiration and growth, I actually stress that our country's strength lies in the very diversity of its origins.

The Founding Fathers of our Republic are deeply indebted to the Italian people. If any man has typified the spirit of the young and vigorous American democracy, it was Thomas Jefferson. He passionately loved democracy. He hated privilege and tyranny in any form. And if any one person inspired Thomas Jefferson to include in the Declaration of Independence the lofty truths and ideals that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness," it was his close friend and co-worker, the Italian physician, Philip Mazzei.

The struggle of the Italian people for national freedom has much in common with the war waged by the American people for national independence. The Italian "Risorgimento" was the one great European national revolution which was led, in its victorious phase, by men who were pure liberals. The ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln and the ideals of Garibaldi and Mazzini came from the same mainstream of history -- true liberalism.

Americans of Italian origin can point with justified pride to the contribution their forebears have made to the cause of freedom and national unity during the Civil War. Our government in Washington then extended a most cordial invitation to the former officers of Garibaldi to join the armies of the North. These hardy courageous men responded enthusiastically. They distinguished themselves in the hottest sectors of the battle front. The Garibaldi Guard fought

heroically in the battle of Bull Run, the siege and surrender of Harpers Ferry, and in the surrender of Lee and his army. Ninety-one years ago to the day, July 3, 1863, they fought in the battle of Gettysburg. They helped weave that illustrious fabric of history which was the inspiration of Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg address.

July Fourth 1954 finds freedom-loving mankind again confronted with a choice similar to the one faced by the founders of the American Republic -- "unconditional submission to the tyranny" "or resistance by force." The leaders of the American Revolution "counted the cost of the contest". They found "nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." At this critical hour, the ranks of democracy everywhere can gather measureless inspiration from the stirring answer given to British despotism in 1776.

We now face an enemy infinitely more colossal and powerful than the one faced by the founders of our Republic. But today we have the advantage of more than 175 years of additional experience in the struggle for liberty. Many more millions on all continents will rally to the banner of democracy.

In this connection, I will again cite Italy as an example. Italy is the only European country where the main part of its democratic underground was born and educated under Fascism. What a tribute to the vitality of Italian democracy! And today the people of Italy are gradually developing a synthesis between Catholic and other socially progressive and democratic forces. Here is the path to the ultimate completion of the Risorgimento. Here is the historic significance of the De Gasperi leadership of Italian democracy at this crucial hour of international crisis.

I cannot conclude without expressing my appreciation of the opportunity to deliver this message under the auspices of the American-Australian tradition which are so historic a union. This union is truly a symbol of the American melting pot -- a symbol of living loyalty and dynamic devotion to the great ideal of liberty which belongs to all humanity and binds together all peoples. I speak



of Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Local 89 was conceived and founded in the spirit of 1789, in the triumphant surge of freedom that led to the storming of the Bastille and gave to France and all the world the immortal battle cry of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." This mighty force that runs like a steel rod through the history of all struggles for social justice and human liberty.

The ideals which inspired the Declaration of Independence and the Founding Fathers of our country never before had so much meaning to all mankind. To us, July 4, 1954, is a sacred day for our all-out re-dedication to the preservation and promotion of these ideals. Let us build the real road to a world free from the terrors of dictatorship, the perils of poverty, and the horrors of war, to a world devoted to freedom, well-being and peace for all mankind.

## REPORT FROM ITALY

CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY

August 4, 1954

Florence Trip

In our days here, we had a long session with Bacci, CISL Gen. Sec. of the Florence region re general situation and workings of CISL; 2) a 3-hour session with Bacci and all the local secretaries of the region (6 of them) where they discussed their problems; 3) a session with La Pira, the famous mayor of Florence; 4) a session with Reed, Gen. General of Florence; 5) a visit through the Pignone works (which was in the news all over Italy some time ago and re which, you may remember, I wrote you a long report) and a discussion on the spot re situation and problems of the plant with Rose, myself, Bacci, some CISL activists and the labor-management relations director of the plant present; 6) a visit to a session of the Municipal Council of Florence; 7) a visit, at midnight, through the plant of "Il Mattino", the outstanding independent paper of Florence and a discussion re Florence and national problems with its editors; 8) odds and ends. From all of which, the following emerges:

A - General Situation

Florence is a town of something less than half a million inhabitants. The villages and small towns making up its periphery in the province has something over a half million people, so that the province as a whole boasts about a million even. Florence itself, though tremendously important as a cultural and artistic center is peculiarly static from an economic and industrial point of view. Some 4 large plants and a few small establishments employ in the neighborhood of about 10,000 workers. The real thick belt of industrial workers is concentrated in the smaller towns and villages on the periphery of the province surrounding Florence. Florence itself makes its living chiefly on the tourist trade (after Rome, perhaps, it has more tourists than any other city of Italy) from the dollars spent directly in the hotels and restaurants and in the arts and crafts establishments (chiefly leather, silver and straw goods.) However in spite of its limited industrial character, it came into the limelight last year and made all the headlines because of the action of Mayor La Pira in the famous Pignone case (of which, later). La Pira himself, of whom, also, later, in an interesting, ebullient, contradictory and controversial figure, but he has certainly succeeded in

keeping Florence in the limelight.

The province itself is one of the strongest communist strongholds in all Italy, close on the heels, actually, of the famous red province of Reggio Emilia. Some indication of communist strength can be gleaned from the fact that of the 50 towns and villages in the provincial periphery around Florence, 16 have communist mayors, either PCI or PSI, most of them of the former persuasion. Florence itself had a communist mayor until he was displaced at the last municipal election by the colorful La Pira, so that the city is a sort of political oasis in a desert completely dominated by the enemy. But the communists are still fairly strong in the city; of the 60 or so members of the Municipal Council they have 16, to 32 for the C. Demos, 4 Liberals, 4 Republicans, 1 PSDIer and 2 MSI and 1 independent.

#### B - Labor and Trade Union Situation

The situation being what it is especially in the periphery, you can imagine what a tough row to hoe CISL has here. The overwhelming bulk of the industrial and agricultural workers <sup>is</sup> in the periphery which is where the communists have their t.u. as well as their political strength. There are about 150,000 workers of all categories, mostly in the periphery. Of these about 1/3 or 150,000 are organized. The relative strength here of CISL and CGIL is roughly about 1 to 4, with CISL having about 30,000 and CGIL about 120,000. UIL has practically nothing in the province.

#### C - La Pira

Of this interesting, many-faceted character, I've written you something before. He's regarded as an "enfant-terrible" by his own party and a bit of an embarrassment to its leaders because he raises questions so sharply. He's always fighting around with them, telling them off, telling them what to do, sending heated telegrams to them (as well as to Churchill or Malenkov or what have you) on any and every conceivable question either in national or world politics. He's guided in his personal way of life by the early Christian saints and the purported ideology of primitive Christianity re universal brotherhood and the equality of all souls before eternity and the Creator. St Francis of Assisi - with his ideal of poverty and love - seems to be his

special guide. He owns nothing, has no home, sleeps either in a monastery room or elsewhere (we met him in a room in a Catholic hospital); he gives everything he may come into possession of away.

Re certain elements in his contradictory ideology we can agree. He's moved by social injustice; he thunders continuously vs. the social selfishness of the Italian industrialists (who sure hate his guts); he insists on the necessity of raising the living standards of the workers, plumps for new houses, cooperatives, taking care of the unemployed, etc. In all this - and it's certainly a necessary, fundamental tactic in weakening the hold of the communists over the Italian workers - we can certainly go along.

What creates questionable overtones not only in his thinking but, more importantly, in his proposals for actions, is the specific metaphysical-religious base and motivation to his ideology. Its mystic sentimentality--the all-absorbing, envelopping nature of the "Corpus Christus", the equality of all human souls--blunt the necessary distinctions that have to be made in the practical realm. A communist or a non-communist are both equally suffering under the lash of the common oppressor, the selfish Italian industrialist, and so they must march together against the common enemy, in order to bring him to his senses.

On the latter question I pressed him quite firmly re the necessary distinctions that have to be made between communist and non-communist, for weren't all the values he held precious (individualism, freedom, the strengthening of democracy, which he outlined to us) destroyed by the onmarch of communism? His answer was that in the necessary social struggle one couldn't make the distinction "subito" (immediately); that one would have to make it later (though he didn't and couldn't make it clear when and how) and besides, he said, not all members of the CGIL were communists (which is true but has nothing to do with the question.)

In other words, just as the Gandhians who falsely make a universal panacea out of their non-violent tactic, do not realize that the technique cannot work and is self-defeating and a vain sacrifice when applied to people who are essentially

amoral (like the Nazis and the communists), this saint doesn't realize that the principles of brotherly love based upon the original gospels also will not work with these people and that it is merely a hollow mockery to imagine so.

It's really difficult to say positively whether one basically - in a balanced view - should put him on the side of the angels or the devils. It depends which will prevail in time more, his "pros" or his "cons". Certainly he's hammering away at the central social problem in Italy when he goads the Government and its leaders re the social selfishness of the industrialists but he's terribly fuzzy on the greatest danger facing Italy and the world, viz. communism. If the cap of sentimental unrealism can be removed from this basic Christian humanist, if he can be gotten to see that ~~that~~ it is necessary to remove the excrescences in his ideology engendered by his unrealism, then he can be of great value. If not, then he can be a great danger. And who can predict with Italians and saints which road they will take?

D - Mr. Reed, 4th. Gen. General

Nothing too much, really, a "moderate potato". Here four years; Rose speaks the language better, I think I even do. He knew very little and was very little interested in the "labor question"; indeed he used to delegate that to his vice-consul who was the one Ricci had been in contact with. Ricci, who knows practically/everybody in Florence had never even met him once. His basic lack of interest was accentuated by the fact that he was practically on his way out; next month he goes to Johannesburg, S. Africa, where he will undoubtedly live a very easy life. He was really more interested in discussing world problems and asked us some questions re Geneva. But both re world affairs as well as Italian there was nothing he said off the beaten track really worth mentioning.

He said he had spent 20 years in the Far East and was really an old Asian hand. That certainly wasn't reflected in his conversation by any particular insight or what have you.

E - Pignone

This was the place, the largest plant in Florence, where the owners

suddenly announced last year that they were going to close down. It had some 1,500 workers. La Pira raised such a howl, made such a national issue of it, literally hounded the Government so tirelessly that something was really done this time. The plant, you remember, was at first "occupied" by the workers (about this I wrote you a long analysis). Anyway, he got the plant to be finally reopened though it has now about 600 workers less who have been "taken care" of in one minor way or another.

The plant at present is one of the best in Italy. The relations between the management and workers is A<sub>1</sub> for Italy, approaching what we might call American standards. CISL has a majority of the plant. The chief communist troublemakers have been "removed". In this sense, therefore, it is a test re American aid, for instance. As I told you we had a thorough discussion of the problems in the plant. Since the communists are in a minority they're always looking for something bad to be able to pounce upon and so turn matters in their favor. In this connection the management of the plant indicated that in about 6 months they would have a problem on their hands, that one department with about 200 workers in it would have to shut down for lack of any more work, and couldn't I help.

I promised to take it up with Tasca. I did when I returned. T. told me that there was a very good chance that Pignone would be given a whopping large order and might be made a central plant in Europe for production of oil-drilling machinery. I urged him to use his influence to help in realizing this if at all possible. He promised. In the meantime, I told Bacci re the matter and the possible prospects, since he was in Rome attending the meeting of the CISL Gen. Council. He was grateful and said he would transmit the matter to Pignone upon his return.

P.S. - Next (and last report) will be re Beck's visit. Have sent you under separate cover some photographs re same.

P.S. 2 - Acknowledging receipt of yours of July 30th which arrived yesterday. Today got a call from the American Export Lines offering us a sailing on the 14th. We grabbed it, thankfully. We arrive on the 23rd. We'll be in the office on the 24th. Please tell nobody else. We'll be rushed like the devil now but we didn't dare take any further chance. See you in three weeks.

Rome, August 2, 1954

Various Conferences Recently (Rome)1 - PACIAARDI

Politically, as steady as ever. For one thing, one of the very few voices here who has consistently estimated Geneva for what it was -- a sell-out -- indicating the weakness in France, the complacent optimism of the British, the regrettable division among the Big Three etc. He has warned against the opacity re the true aggressive character of Communism, the dangers of the "appealing" theory of co-existence and against not realizing that Geneva was only a trench reached by the Communists to be used later as a springboard for a further push.

Re E.D.C. he had continued to be its most consistent supporter, warning against pusillanimity and dragging the feet here, and allowing minor matters like Trieste to stand in the way.

2 - Pastore

Met with him a number of times, also at Milan, After Morelli's funeral. Handled the Montana-Gelo business which I've already reported on. Also reported to him on some matters which he should know re my meetings with Fiat and Olivetti and Tasca. Generally, rapport between us is better these days than previously.

About that question you raised re Pas' attitude toward Valetta: Yes, I think he is right re his perspective and worry about Val. wanting to keep things under his thumb and the Fiat union "in his hand"; although I still would stress that the situation and the split in CISL forces (Pas' expelling some of the most active members) would not have arisen had Pas not made that original mistake of joining with the Communists in the General Strike of last December. But that is now past, the gap between CISL-UIL and the Communists has widened, the atmosphere between CISL and UIL is relatively better (tho' far from perfect by a long shot, as I learned in Florence) after the

"conglobamento" agreement; and the necessity to unify the CISL forces in FIAT is now greater than ever. As I said, I will again discuss this with both Val. and Pas. as soon as I can.

3 - Viglianesi

Separate and apart from the pressure which, together or alone, Vanni, Gelo, Pas and I had put upon him re the Brussels' meeting and the question of unification between the two organizations (as reported to you), I met with him subsequently again and alone and applied some more pressure. He assured me that the Executive of the UIL will sign the document proposed by CISL at Brussels, which will "bring Back" the situation of the "Friendship Pact" days of February 1953. Re unification, he said he thought the present situation and atmosphere between the two organizations (after "conglobamento") much better than for a long time and that developments in the near future (political as well as labor), assuming good will on the part of the two organizations, ought to improve the situation even more and put consideration of the possibility of unification on the practical order of the day. In this connection he said it would help if the UIL got some proof from the AFL re our not discriminating against them and considering them on a par with CISL.

This latter, of course, was an old story and I didn't let him get away with it. I reminded him of his attack against the AFL and told him it was stupid; secondly, that he knew the position of the AFL re CISL, that we considered it the basis for unification of all anti-communist trade union forces in Italy; thirdly, that no outside organization like the AFL, no matter how powerful or interested or good-willed, could bring unification in any country of any existing divided movement; that it was essentially the responsibility of the forces inside each country to see to it that breaches were healed; that he shouldn't put the cart before the horse, i.e., if the UIL showed its sincerity and responsibility re the new "Friendship Pact", which Vig. now claimed the Executive was ready to sign, then the attitude of the AFL, which he pretended at the present time to find too reserved re the UIL, might change in a direction more to his liking.



Vig. of course, as always, is a slick talker and one must always take him with a grain of salt. Of course, when he says: "...discrimination of the AFL vs. UIL", I know what "practical" propositions he has in mind. Nevertheless, it is good to have on record his expressed attitude and promise (which he made to me at the end) that UIL would abide loyally by the new pact about to be signed, sealed and delivered. We can always hold it under his nose.

4 - Rashid

The new Indonesian Ambassador here (who replaced Sukardjo). He is a PSI man and a decided change for the better. Of course, his "schizophrenic condition", i.e., his being an official representative of a government line and a member of a Party in opposition (which he shares) to that line, was apparent at the beginning when he sparred with me rather cautiously. But I quickly removed that "barrier" and talked with him as "man to man", off the record as it were. Details I do not have to go into. I expressed our viewpoint/<sup>very</sup>firmly and stressed the dangers to Indonesia in view of the bad internal situation, the idiocy of the PNI, the playing around with the communists -- especially after the bump at Geneva. I warned him flatly that Indonesia was on the time table of the communists. He agrees really. One thing he did tell me, that the various leaders high up are definitely beginning to be worried about the situation (high time!) and wonder about the repercussions in Indonesia of Peking's success at Geneva. He especially mentioned Hatta (incidentally, I've seen some statements of the latter recently bearing this out). It was interesting that he raised with me something which you once told me you tried to do -- in vain -- with our insensitive official agencies, i.e., an invitation by our Government to Sudarno to visit the U.S. He suggested, if at all possible, that it should be done now. It's a good idea, of course, although now, even if you could convince our Wash. big-wigs of same, in my opinion it would be much more difficult given the present Asian as well as Indonesian atmospheres, to get Sukarno to accept than it would have been long ago. Any chance?

I learned that the #2 man here, Tamin, is a member of the Masjumi and a nephew of Nsir. He may be our most valuable single contact here. I will be trying

1. - Ella and Bertram Wolfe,

123-5791  
61-4050  
121

REPORT FROM ITALY

August 1, 1954

Your telegram received yesterday; many thanks. I'm darn sorry it didn't come a day earlier; we had that reservation for the 21st offered us which we turned down. After receiving the telegram we rushed down again but it was already too late; it had been gobbled up.

We are in no position at this late date to ask for anything. As we told you, there are three main sailings on the 14th, 21st and 23rd and we are on the list for all. We would infinitely, now, prefer it later rather than earlier since, with some important unfinished business, and the Riesels and Beck here (and Ella and Bert arriving on the 9th) we'll be terribly rushed for time; but we're in no position to choose. Although we'll do our darndest to try to get a booking at the latest date, we'll simply have to take whichever comes through first; we can't take a chance. I will let you know as soon as anything comes through.

Beck and his son, and Ed Cheyfitz, his public relations man and "guide" arrived late last night. They're staying at the same hotel as Vic who, of course, know them. About midnight last night the Riesels, Rose and I bumped into Cheyfitz in the lobby; (Beck was already asleep) and we chatted together until 2 A.M. I have learned already, a good deal. There will be an "interesting" story to tell re Beck and his increasing "international sensitivity".

I'm running down now to meet Beck for the first time (for breakfast). More later.

1. Possibly Cardinal Mantini

2. Vanni Montana

3. *Pietro Nenni*

July 30, 1954

Returned from Florence yesterday to find yours of the 21st waiting for me. It certainly leaves us up in the air and let down. Another offer of a possibility of a sailing on the 21st of August came through today but we had to turn it down. This can't keep up much longer because then they'll just not offer us anything. I just don't know what to say. We know all your problems, difficulties, troubles, but still can't understand why a decision takes so long. I just can't keep on carrying my heart on my sleeve. I'm terribly worried re Rose's jaw; am hoping nothing seriously is the matter and we'll certainly have to get home soon to look into it. We're as concerned and disciplined as the next guy, probably more so, but, really ....

While in Florence found time to write (on paper) a report of some of the important conferences we had and on the train-ride home wrote up our Florence trip. Some interesting and important matters there. But getting out these two reports will have to wait on available time since we were piled up with things when we arrived because:

- 1 - Three-day conference of CISL General Council began yesterday.
- 2 - Found a telegram waiting for me from Irv re Dave Beck's coming here for a few days and had to arrange some appointments for him. Have already done so. Will also, I guess, have to squire him around to the extent that he wants to be squired around.
- 3 - Had to take up some matters with Tasca (already have seen him today)
- 4 - Your friend, Wiesel's in town for a week. That will take some of our time also.

\*\*\*\*\*

Re other points in your notes:

- a - Re that article of Matthews in the "N.Y. Times", had already seen it (while I was up in Milan attending to Morelli's funeral) and had given the piece to Pastore. Had suggested practically the same things to Pas. as you did.

I saw him again this morning and told him re your suggestions and explained the manner in which it would be desirable to have it done. He agreed and will carry your suggestions out as soon as time permits. I will also try to see Matthews personally during the next period of time and have a "chat" with him.

b- I will make further inquiries re this red-hatted man whose name is so similar to Vanni's <sup>1.</sup> second and see what I can dig up re his relations to Nen. <sup>3</sup> inside the august mystical precincts.

Don't get worried if you don't hear from me for some time. In view of the above, you will understand. Remember, I'm always kicking around and will have things to tell you. Will get them out as soon as humanly possible.

P.S. - You never acknowledged my report on Geneva. Just want to know that you got it.

P.S. 2 - Well, how does this new FOA Labor advisory setup to Stassen affect us? Some more "complications" and criss-cross currents?

P.S. 3 - You will have seen my remarks re Morelli?

The Conversion of  
a Communist

# The Conversion of a Communist

*The intimate story of how a famous translator came to leave the party*

By Bertram D. Wolfe

**I** FIRST became aware of Samuel Putnam through his translations from Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French and other tongues into English. "There is neither recognition nor monetary reward in translation," he once wrote. "It is probably a compliment when a translation isn't noticed." But his translations were so sensitive, so right, so amazing in the variety of languages and the range of taste, that I came to know his name and to think of Samuel Putnam as one of those rare writers whose genuine vocation is translation.

He had fallen in love with the languages and letters of foreign lands in his childhood in Rossville, Illinois. He learned his first words of German from a Bavarian shoemaker at the age of 9; read the forbidden Rabelais in a hayloft at the age of 12 and, the same year, began to study Latin and Greek; won a scholarship to the University of Chicago as a result of a translation from Latin while a high-school student; failed to take a degree there because of the ill health which dogged him all the days of his life; studied at the Sorbonne from 1909 to 1914, made Paris his mistress, edited an expatriate literary review, wrote poetry, art and literary criticism, biography, literary history, articles on sexual pathology; and, handicapped by frail health, tubercular lungs and other illnesses which caused him to spend a good part of each day flat on his back, he did over 50 translations of novels, plays and poetry, including Rabelais, Aretino, Pirandello, Belinski (from the Russian), Silone, Cervantes, Huysmans, Cocteau and the Marquis de Sade. At 57, he began the study of Rumanian to explore yet another literature for America.

Early in 1944, I reviewed *The Road to Teheran*, by the historian Foster Rhea Dulles, for the New York *Her-*

*ald Tribune*. It was a history of the relations between Russia and the United States from the time of Catherine and the birth of our republic to the moment when Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt met at Teheran. Only the last chapter troubled me because it was faintly tainted with the Grand Alliance illusions which boded ill for the planning of a decent peace. I hesitated, then decided that the book was so good that a polemical analysis of the last chapter would be unjust to the work as a whole. I decided to say nothing about the last chapter, concluding my review with the words: "unreservedly recommended." Because of its timeliness, the *Herald Tribune* took my brief review of a scholarly book and, dressing it up with an imposing picture of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill seated on the portico of the Russian Embassy at Teheran, gave it the entire first page of the *Sunday Book Review*.

A few days later, a friend sent me a clipping from the *Daily Worker*. It was a literary column, apparently a regular feature of the paper. "Here," it said of *The Road to Teheran*, "is one book we don't have to read, because it was favorably reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe in the *Herald Tribune*." The column was signed *Sam Putnam!*

A few days later, my correspondent sent me another clipping from the *Daily Worker*. This time, it was from the "Letters from Our Readers" column. It contained two letters that had every appearance of having been cooked up in the office of the paper. The first praised the literary columns of Sam Putnam, urging that they be reprinted in pamphlet form to show writers and intellectuals the Communist attitude toward culture. The second letter read:

"So! Sam Putnam says that *The Road to Teheran*, by Foster Rhea Dulles, is a book we don't have to read because it was favorably reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe in the *Herald Tribune*. It's a pity Sam doesn't read the *New Masses*, for if he did he would find in the latest issue a warmly favorable review of two-and-one-half pages by Corliss Lamont."

The letter was signed: "Puzzled Reader." It must have produced a very puzzled Sam Putnam. Obviously, the party nabobs had decided to push the book because of the self-same last chapter which I had decided to ignore. Sam Putnam had condensed a book without reading it because it had been favorably reviewed by a writer of whom he knew only that party leaders had



Bertram D. Wolfe, whose second monthly article we present here, is the author of *Three Who Made a Revolution*, *Diego Rivera: His Life and Times*, and other books in English and Spanish. A contributor to numerous publications in the United States, Europe and Latin America, he has just completed a three-year stint at the Voice of America.



Nehru, at whose insistence V. K. Krishna Menon's notion of bracketing Communism with "anti-Communism" was accepted, does not look upon the Soviet and Western camps as rigid, water-tight systems, mutually exclusive and incapable of "peaceful coexistence." His foreign policy, therefore, consists in attempting to bridge the gulf between the two blocs. For this reason, Nehru does not believe in developing a "third force" strong enough to resist the pressure of both. He feels that, if China is not "provoked" but allowed to have its way in Tibet and given UN recognition, the non-Communist countries of Asia have nothing to fear. No other Prime Minister at Colombo seemed to agree with Nehru, except Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia—whose reasons for projecting the Communist line at the conference will be described presently.

By bracketing Communism with "anti-Communism," Nehru was suggesting that politics in Asia is being governed by a kind of Third Newtonian Law—all actions producing reactions—and that both Communists and "anti-Communists" are culprits in this respect. No effort was made to define "anti-Communism," or to clarify whether it meant American efforts to stem Soviet influence, the anti-Cominformism of Belgrade, or the resistance of the independent Socialist movement the world over.

The real significance of Krishna Menon's characterization of Communism and "anti-Communism" as

identical evils was this: It thwarted the attempts of Pakistan and Ceylon to forge the necessary sanctions against further Communist expansion in Asia. The resolution reduced the Communist threat to something more academic than real, on a par with another "evil," anti-Communism, and so there was no question of taking steps against it.

The lonely furrow India was plowing became clear when the Indian delegation declared that Communism was an ideology and no more, and that any expression of a positive opinion on it was tantamount to taking sides in the cold war. Even Burma differed with this view. Burma knew, better than any other country represented at the conference, what Communism was and how it disturbed the peaceful progress of a nation. That left India in the questionable company of Indonesia, whose Prime Minister was present at Colombo primarily to gain temporary political advantage at home. Sastroamidjojo's coalition in Indonesia is dependent on Communist support for its precarious existence; a general election is due early next year. Therefore, he often went out of his way to toe the Communist line.

In this connection, charitable critics have set great store by the Prime Ministers' reaffirmation of their faith in democratic institutions. But the conference refused to countenance any move for collective security in the region; it failed to forge closer economic and other links

among the various nations; it put Communism on a par with what was called anti-Communism. Thus, its reiteration of faith in democracy amounted to no more than lip-service. Surely the Indian Prime Minister would not show the same complacency toward the Communists in India that he advocated toward international Communism.

In this, the declaration only betrayed the extent to which Nehru lent his own schizophrenic character to the conference. Addressing a public meeting in Bombay a few weeks before the Colombo discussions, he reprovingly referred to the fact that Malenkov and Mao Tse-tung were honorary members of the Politburo of the Indonesian Communist party. Earlier, during an election campaign in the South Indian state of Travancore-Cochin, he called the Communist red flag the emblem of Russia. The Indian Prime Minister was, on both occasions, describing Communism as an international conspiracy against democracy. Once he was outside of India, however, Nehru found it no more than an ideology.

Summing up, the conference achieved neither unanimity of opinion nor closer regional relations. If it was meant to console the five countries that, though they were not invited to Geneva, their opinions also counted, such psychological satisfaction was doubtless achieved. Beyond that, the conference was all platitudes and polemic.

## BOOM

*According to a London report, there is a boom in the bullet-proof-vest business, especially for politicians of Europe, the Middle East and Asia.—News item.*

It used to be that diplomats  
Were known by gleaming tall silk hats  
And won our awed, admiring glance  
With cutaways and pin-striped pants.

But styles have changed. Today the vest  
Denotes the diplomat well dressed,  
And, such the times, as it is stated,  
The fashion plate is armor-plated.

## SPLITTING HEADACHE

*The British, objecting to "fissionable" as an Americanism, prefer "fissile" as an atomic term.—News item.*

Another split besides the split  
In atoms is developing.  
Our good allies have thrown a fit  
And angrily are yelloping.

The Russians, meanwhile, work away.  
Their pile of bombs is mounting.  
Just what they call them, they don't say—  
They're far too busy counting.

—Richard Armour

attacked him. Thus, Samuel Putnam, the sensitive and conscientious scholar, was brought face to face with Sam Putnam, the party-line literary critic. Two souls in one breast were suddenly forced to confront each other. The resulting dialogue, inaudible to the spectator, puts an end to Act I of this little drama.

A week later, the Books Editor of the *Herald Tribune* sent me a new book to review. It was *Os Sertoes*, translated from the Brazilian Portuguese of Euclides da Cunha under the title, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, "with introduction and notes by the translator, Samuel Putnam."

It turned out to be a great book—to my mind, one of the two greatest books on sociology ever written on the American continent. Published in Brazil in 1902, it was soon recognized by Brazilians as *nosso livro supremo*—"our finest book." As I read it, I was inclined to pronounce it a *livro supremo* of the Americas. Written in a turbulent baroque prose always bordering on drama and poetry—"a monstrous poem of brutality and force," Euclides himself had called it—and filled with Brazilianisms, regionalisms, Negroisms, Indianisms and all the intensity of the human and geological inferno that was its setting, *Os Sertoes* was a work to tax the skill, patience and artistry of the best of translators. My review exalted the book and praised the translation and the translator.

At that point, Daniel Bell, then an editor of the NEW LEADER, now labor editor of *Fortune*, took a small part in the drama. Under the heading, "Dilemma of a Literary Hatchetman," he told his readers the story of my review of the Foster Rhea Dulles book and Sam Putnam's reaction thereto. Then he cited my review of *Rebellion in the Backlands*, adding: "Here's another book we don't have to read because it has been favorably reviewed by Bertram D. Wolfe in the *Herald Tribune*."

Here we let the curtain drop on Act II, with Sam Putnam and Samuel Putnam still engaged in a troubled internal dialogue.

For two years, Samuel Putnam labored over another great Brazilian classic, and early in 1946 he produced *The Masters and the Slaves*, a translation from the Portuguese of Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala*. *Casa Grande* is the "Big House" of the master, and *Senzala* the slave quarters. Freyre uses them as symbols to suggest the original cultural antagonism and social distinction between masters and slaves, blacks and whites, Europeans and Africans over the span of three centuries, and the gradual closing up of that social distance by mating and intermarriage and democratic class fluidity in the course of the formation of the Brazilian nationality and "cosmic race." The book is as vast as Brazil; the author broods over the birth of his land and people until he is "able to feel the life lived by our ancestors in all its sensual fullness."

As if to remind Sam Putnam of my existence, the publisher adorned the jacket of his new book with a quota-

tion from my review of the earlier *Rebellion in the Backlands*. And the Books Editor of the *Herald Tribune*, thereby reminding that I had reviewed the other work, sent me *Masters and Slaves*. I ended my article:

"I cannot close this review without a tribute to the translator. This is the second time that Samuel Putnam has made available to us a great Brazilian masterpiece that is at the same time a masterpiece in its genre and in the literature of our time and hemisphere. . . . In both cases, he has wrestled with an enormous vocabulary of Brazilianisms, Indianisms, Africanisms, and has given these masterpieces a style that closely approximates their originals, yet has comparable literary quality in our own language."

Curtain on Act III.

Thenceforward, fate willed it that Samuel Putnam should be continuously linked up with me and his name with mine. He did a Brazilian novel, *The Violent Land*, by Jorge Amado; a Mexican novel, *Yo Como Pobre . . .*, by Magdalena Mondragon; a brief history of Brazilian literature, and a survey of four centuries of Brazilian writing which he entitled *Marvellous Journey*. Each of them came to me to review.

At last, in the third year after our first strange encounter, he did a *Portable Rabelais*. This was a field in which I have no special knowledge, and here at last was a book which should not have come to my desk. But I received a copy all the same. On the flyleaf were inscribed the words:

"For Bertram D. Wolfe,

A critic who has been kinder to me than I deserve,  
Samuel Putnam."

I sent the giver a note of appreciation, telling him that I was especially moved by the inscription because I thought I understood something of the background from which it sprang. With that began a literary friendship, and, though Putnam found the journey from his home in Philadelphia to New York too much for his strength, we got to know each other very intimately through an occasional exchange of letters.

Here the little drama of the conversion of a Communist might well end, but there is an epilogue.

Early in 1948, one of the editors of the Viking Press called me up: "Bert, we'd like you to read a new translation of *Don Quixote* and give us your opinion."

I expostulated that I was too busy with my own writing, that *Quixote* was too big a manuscript, that publishers did not pay readers enough for readings.

"But you don't have to read the whole thing. Read as much or as little as you please . . . a single chapter . . . a few pages . . . enough to make up your mind. You will be the judge. Printing costs are so high, and this book is so big, that if you say it is merely a good translation we will not publish; but if you say, 'This is the translation of *Don Quixote* that the English-speaking world has been waiting for,' we will go ahead with publication. Let your conscience be your guide as to

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

what test passages you select and how much you read. For your report we will pay you a hundred dollars. The man has worked sixteen years on the translation. He quotes your strictures on other translations in his preface. . . ."

"Who's the translator?"

"Samuel Putnam."

Once more, a capricious fate had linked our two spirits!

I read the manuscript with considerable trepidation. In his introduction, Samuel Putnam stated his translator's credo:

"To come to grips with the author's mind, with what he thought and what he really wrote . . . to present it with the greatest possible fidelity, clarity and simplicity . . . to attain a style which, like the original, shall be free of affectation, colloquial and modern without being flagrantly 'modernized' . . . combining textual fidelity with readable prose . . . to overcome those obstacles that have inevitably been erected by time and distance as precious antiques need from time to time to be refurbished to bring back the original luster. . . ."

My report to the publisher, my congratulations to Sam Putnam and, in due course, my inevitable review in the *Herald Tribune* confirmed that these high and difficult aims had been nobly carried out.

That autumn, it was Sam's turn to read and comment on a book of mine. In a letter to me, he spoke for the first time of his conversion.

"Others," he wrote, "will do justice to *Three Who Made a Revolution* as history and biography and English prose. There is one aspect, however, that I should like to mention to you which they will omit: the cold, cruel but invigorating clarity it brings to one who, like myself, knows what it is to have floundered for a decade and more in the Machiavellian mazes of the party line . . . only to be disillusioned in the end—disillusioned and more than a little ashamed. . . . The value of your book for those like me lies in the fact that, by showing us the historical bases of our error, it restores something of self-respect and affords the basis for a new start. . . . I want to express my personal gratitude. . . ."

In December, he made public acknowledgment of his change of heart in a letter to *THE NEW LEADER*, in which journal he professed to find the spirit that he needed:

"a deeply rooted faith in a progressively socialized democracy of our own type (by its very nature ever subject to improvement) together with a truly liberal attitude toward differing points of view and an intellectual spirit that for me had come to be summed up in the words of the historian Charles A. Beard: ' . . . walk lightly. Things are not so simple.' . . . This comes as a great relief to one who, for nearly a decade and up to three years ago, out of misguided humility had forced himself to live in the stifling atmosphere of the party line with all its ruthless intolerance for the processes of the mind. . . ."

On May 7, 1949, we finally had our first and only personal encounter. Accompanied by his wife, Riva, who

was also his lover, nurse, companion, secretary, cook, comrade-in-arms and mother of his only son, he made the difficult two-hour journey from Lambertville, New Jersey, his new home, to New York, to have lunch and spend a few hours in talk with my wife and me. I was deeply moved on contemplating his frail figure and realizing that this weak, tubercular man, who spent a good part of each waking day flat on his back, had managed to produce some nine or ten original books, hundreds of articles and poems, and fifty translations from perhaps a dozen tongues. Even then, he was full of plans for more translations and the study of fresh languages.

That autumn, I went out to California on a Hoover Library Fellowship to do research for the second volume of my history of the Russian Revolution. Though I was there on a Slavic Fellowship, Sam wrote to the head of the Romanic Division about me and I ended up with an appointment as Visiting Lecturer in Spanish Culture, giving a course in *Don Quixote*.

On January 16, 1950, Riva Putnam wrote me:

"Sam died, unexpectedly and without warning, of a heart attack yesterday, just an hour after he had put his finishing touches on the Cervantes *Portable*. . . . He talked and planned with me until time for his nap, and he had lain down for only a few moments . . . he died that quickly. I am taking his body to his native Rossville, Illinois tomorrow. . . . I have wished and wished that you were nearer so that you could be there. . . . His dearest wish in case of death was to have friends who knew him and his work deeply speak for him, and he often said that the one he would prefer above all would be you. . . ."

I want only to add the impersonal fact that in 1946, when the United States was badly in need of friendly neighbors, as it is today and always, the State Department sent Samuel Putnam, historian of Brazilian letters and translator of Brazilian masterpieces, on an exchange professorship to Brazil. He lectured on comparative literature at the University of Brazil, made our own literature better known to Brazilian intellectuals, was elected a member (I believe the only Anglo-Saxon member) of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and was awarded the Brazilian Government's Pandia Colgeras Prize for literature in 1947. He would have served with equal distinction as an ambassador of good will in any one of a half-dozen other lands whose literature and culture he did so much to make known to us.

I have often thought of his conversion thanks to a book review, and of the complexity of the human spirit, as I have watched Congressional committees dealing with the youthful, or not so youthful, errors . . . or dreams . . . of former Communists. We might do well to remember that the human spirit is fearfully and wonderfully made, and that a Wise Man once urged that, in things of the spirit, more can be accomplished by coals of fire than by bullying. In any case, our country is the richer because Samuel Putnam lived in it, and in other lands, from 1892 to 1950.

*Handwritten:* E. J. WHITE

*Handwritten:* Cultural Research

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This is a clipping from  
Pages 16-18 of the  
NEW LEADER

Date 6-7-54  
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*File*  
68 JUL 21 1954

*Handwritten:* 9

January 22, 1953

A. H. Belmont

W. A. Branigan

PAUL CROUCH - INFORMANT  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
SECURITY MATTER - C

cc - NY  
By R/S  
2/20/53  
JG:mlw  
11-1

By memorandum to the Director dated December 9, 1952, captioned "World Tourist," Raymond F. Farrell, Assistant Commissioner, Investigations Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service, furnished information to the effect that Paul Crouch, a consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Washington, D. C., had submitted a memorandum dated October 8, 1952, to Robert L. Woytych, Officer in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., advising that from an examination of passport photographs at the Central Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Crouch had been able to identify 105 Communist Party members or former Communist Party members known to him personally. Crouch specified that some were out of the Communist Party or that the present attitude of others was in doubt and they may be working with agencies of the Soviet government.

Blank memoranda have been prepared concerning each person identified, and two copies of each of these memoranda are attached.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that the copies of the memoranda be routed to the Supervisor handling the respective case files for necessary action. It is suggested that one copy of each memorandum be furnished the office of origin in each case. In some cases, it may be desirable to interview Crouch for additional information concerning the extent of his association with the individual mentioned.

Attachment

DET:rmc

✓ cc: Bertram D. Wolfe (Attachment).

NOT RECORDED  
17 JAN 23 1953

FEB 24 1953

ORIGINAL FILE



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE No. \_\_\_\_\_

January 14, 1953

RE: [REDACTED]

INTERNAL SECURITY - R  
SECURITY MATTER- C

b7D

[REDACTED] employed as [REDACTED] for the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Washington, D. C., [REDACTED] advised the Immigration and Naturalization Service by memorandum dated October 8, 1952, that from an examination of passport photographs at the Immigration and Naturalization Service Central Office, he was able to identify the following person as a Communist Party member or former member known to him personally:

Bertram D. Wolfe, photograph #329.

[REDACTED] advised that this person is definitely known to him to be out of the Communist Party at the present time.

11-1  
ENCLOSURE

6 NOV 21 1951

205

Swaddling and the French  
by Geoffrey Gorer

# Swaddling and the Russians

*Mr. Gorer attacks  
Bertram D. Wolfe's  
criticisms of his  
swaddling theories  
on Russia — and  
Mr. Wolfe replies*



*By Geoffrey Gorer*

IT IS NOT MY CUSTOM to engage in argument with critics of my books; but Bertram D. Wolfe, in his article of January 29, "The Swaddled Soul of the Great Russians," has passed beyond criticism to misrepresentation and falsification. To keep the record straight, I should like to collate four passages from Mr. Wolfe's article with four passages from the book he is pretending to criticize. I have chosen these because of their relative brevity; there is hardly an accurate sentence in his article.

Wolfe: "Mr. Gorer even feels that you do not have to be as highly self-conscious about that ignorance if you attempt to describe the national character of a society without being in the territory of that society."

Gorer, p. 198: "I approach the attempt to describe the national character of a society without being in the territory of that society by the assumption of a highly self-conscious ignorance. This ignorance has to be much more self-conscious than in the case of field-work. . . ."

Wolfe: "'According to one trained informant,' writes Gorer in one of the

few passages in which he deigns to let the reader know the number of observations on which he bases a judgment. . . ."

Gorer, p. 14: "In all, I have had access to between 300 and 400 interviews. About ten per cent of these were with technically qualified informants . . . many of these latter were interviewed several times."

Wolfe: "Stalin's authority, we are assured on the basis of an *ipse dixit*, is of this kind: . . . he grows them carefully and tenderly, like a gardener growing a favorite fruit tree. A truly touching picture. . . ."

Gorer, p. 173: "Somewhat similar is Stalin's instruction to teachers: 'People must be grown carefully and tenderly, just as a gardener grows a favorite fruit tree.' [Footnote reference to Yesipov and Goncharov's *Pedagogy*, published in Moscow in 1946, from which the quotation is drawn.] A gardener may give his favorite fruit trees the best possible care, the most ideal treatment; but this can never imply a feeling of identity or equality between the gardener and what he cares for."

Wolfe: "Forget that the Leader in the modern total state first makes unending war upon his own people be-

fore he drives them into war on other peoples."

Gorer p. 191: "The leaders suspect that those they lead are hostile toward them, and they seek to divert this hostility onto other figures. If the leaders were to feel convinced that the mass of the population (or a sizable portion of it) were becoming disaffected from them and favoring some outside power, this might well exacerbate the leaders' fears and induce them to precipitate a war, as the most efficacious way of diverting hostility from themselves."

Apart from general misrepresentation, Mr. Wolfe's chief criticism appears to lie in the fact that I did not repeat a number of facts known to every constant newspaper reader, even so careless a reader as Mr. Wolfe. I assumed that the readers of my book would be people interested in Russia and aware of material in the public domain, and able to supply the context to the numerous allusions. According to Mr. Wolfe, I respected my readers' intelligence too much. He certainly does not respect his readers'; and I find it interesting that he criticizes my book in almost exactly the same terms as did the Soviet press, for example

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



*Red Fleet* of May 14, 1950. The techniques of misrepresentation do not seem to be culturally limited.

### By Bertram D. Wolfe

**M**Y CRITICISMS of Mr. Gorer's book were purely criticisms of method. The central point was that Mr. Gorer was attempting to apply an unhistorical method, derived from individual personality patterns and from closed, fossilized, tribal societies, to a large political state, historically evolved and in a state of rapid historical evolution during the past thirty years. My other major criticism was that Mr. Gorer lacks the spirit which teaches a scientist to distrust his own pet hypotheses, and to devise critical experiments or critical questions in order to test, refine or reject his hypotheses. Singular to relate, Mr. Gorer says not one word on these crucial questions of methodology, neither to defend them, nor to reexamine them, nor to correct them. Instead, he chooses the unwholesome method of personal attack on the man who raised the questions. Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that his critic does not quote or summarize accurately in the particular passages Mr. Gorer cites. How does that affect the central question of methodology?

Actually, two of Mr. Gorer's confrontations of my summaries with his original words serve only to make evident afresh the justice of my strictures as to method:

1. Mr. Gorer's "self-conscious ignorance" concerning the country on which he is dogmatizing. My whole point was that one who writes on historical and political problems, and comes to conclusions on them, has no right to fail to master the entire body of historical and political literature on a country before he comes to such conclusions. No historically changing phenomena can be explained by means of a timeless and unchanging cause such as swaddling.

2. A lesser methodological criticism on my part was that Mr. Gorer

bases a number of generalizations concerning the Russian soul on interviews with a few people, and generally fails to tell even how many of his interviewees gave him his information. Mr. Gorer seems even not to understand that elementary social science requires such statistical basis for *each* judgment. He now quotes himself as having said that "In all, I have had access to between 300 and 400 interviews. About ten per cent of these were technically qualified [i.e., 30 or 40]." Did he reject the evidence given by the unqualified? Did he accept it? Did he weigh it according to the degree of qualification? Not a word. Above all, the fact remains as I stated it that "in only a few passages does he deign to let the reader know the *number* of observations on which he bases a judgment. . . ." He not only confirms this in his letter, but seems not even to understand that *each judgment* should be statistically analyzed. His book bristles with sweeping generalizations, but almost nowhere does he say whether he learned this or that from one, or ten, or thirty of these 300 to 400 interviewees. In the critical passage where he tries to explain how other peoples swaddle but don't produce "Great Russian souls," he specifically contents himself with "one technically trained observer."

3. On the Stalin quotes, since Stalin himself has said it, it is an *ipse dixit*—i.e., the "proof" of which Mr. Gorer makes such great use that it serves as the key to his central theory is that Stalin *himself* has thus described his "tender gardener's" care of his people. The fact that Mr. Gorer found this Stalin quote in Yesipov and Goncharov is irrelevant.

Mr. Gorer points out that he is aware that there is hostility among the led toward the leaders. But what conclusions does this awareness lead him to? I quote:

"It is useless to try to make friends with, or win the sympathy of the mass of the Great Russian people. . . . [If we try] this might precipitate war. . . . Ideological argu-

ments . . . are a complete waste of time and energy so far as the Great Russians are concerned. . . ."

And in the chapter in which he derives the Leader cult from his swaddling-clothes theory, he writes: "It would seem as though this very great idealization of the Leader were a psychological necessity to the mass of Great Russians . . . it would be psychologically intolerable for Great Russians to live for any length of time without an idealized Leader, that a Leader is necessary to save them from political anarchy and personal disintegration."

The reader can now return to my review, and judge whether it presents fairly Mr. Gorer's central thesis and the peculiar "scientific" methodology by which he arrived at his conclusions.

Just one word more. Since Mr. Gorer has tried the certainly unscientific method of discussion by an *argumentum ad hominem* instead of *ad rem* (attack the critic, never mind the issues he raises), it is also interesting to note that he ends with what is known in purge-trial literature as an indictment by amalgam, seeking to link up my critique of his book with the purely *ad hominem* critique contained in *Red Fleet* of May 14, 1950. I took the trouble to locate that issue of *Red Fleet* and find that it calls Mr. Gorer's book a "Filthy Concoction," says that he wrote it to "satisfy his overseas masters and clients" in Wall Street, that his main sources are "an old man who kept a brothel in Kiev" and a "faded ballerina who fled with a police officer," and that his "masters" ordered him "to blacken everything Russian and everything Soviet." This, Mr. Gorer sums up in the words: "Mr. Wolfe criticizes my book in almost exactly the same terms as did *Red Fleet* of May 14, 1950"! What is there left to say except to agree with Mr. Gorer that "one should respect one's readers," and further to agree with Mr. Gorer when he asserts that "the techniques of misrepresentation do not seem to be culturally limited."

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EX-108

*W. J. ...*

57 OCT 22 1951

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NEW LEADER

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FIVE

File-10

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (61-6050)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-9078)

SUBJECT: BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
IS-R

DATE: 7/7/55

Rebulet to Boston dated April 25, 1955, captioned:  
"INFORMANTS AND WITNESSES-IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE",  
which set forth instructions relating to the handling of a list of  
informants and witnesses discontinued by INS.

INS has advised that it deems it advisable to discontinue  
utilizing the subject as an informant for the following reasons: "There  
was no evidence in the file of the subject ever cooperating to his  
fullest extent with this Service. There were, however, indications  
that he had been reluctant to identify other contemporary Communist  
Party functionaries. Also attached to the informant's file were  
a number of Federal Bureau of Investigation reports which disclosed  
quasi Communist-Socialist activity on the informant's part since his  
alleged expulsion from the Communist Party in 1929."

For the information of the Bureau - captioned individual is  
the subject of the following Bureau files: 61-6050 (IS-R) and 123-5791  
(VOA & LGE). While it does not appear that he was ever a contact of  
this office in any capacity, this information is being submitted in  
accordance with Bureau instructions.

R.M.

1. Bureau 123-5791 (VOA & LGE)
- 1 NY
- 1 NY 121-16979
- 1 NY 123-3898

b7D

JEG:MMK

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26

JUL 11 1955

EX-113

58 JUL 20 1955

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 9, 1956

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: "SIX KEYS TO THE SOVIET SYSTEM"  
By Bertram D. Wolfe

Tolson	✓
Nichols	✓
Boardman	✓
Belmont	✓
Mason	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Nease	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

The above-captioned book has been reviewed by the Central Research Section. It is a consistent, logical, documented study of the nature of totalitarianism which has reached its full development in Soviet Russia.

First Key: The Struggle for PowerA. The Struggle for the Succession

All power in the Soviet Union is concentrated in the "leader." Others get power only by emanation and delegation. At the death of the dictator, there are no parties to establish a legal succession by electoral contest. There is no moral code to restrain the aspirants to the succession from framing and killing each other. The real power levers in this struggle are the Party machine, the secret police, and the armed forces. In the author's opinion, totalitarian difficulty is freedom's opportunity. The world is safer for the moment while a regime based on total force and total dictatorship goes through its convulsive struggles to solve the insoluble problem of a legal and peaceful succession in a system that knows neither laws nor peace.

B. A New Look at that Soviet "New Look"

The Khrushchevs and Malenkovs and men younger still who now form the post-Stalinist "collective leaders" are men Stalin gathered around him in his rise to personal dictatorship. The "new men" who have succeeded to Stalin's power are not so new as they look to the uninquisitive eye for they are Stalin's men. What they bring to their drives is the fresh vigor of younger men and a fresh flexibility of maneuver.

Second Key: The Coordination of Culture

The lords of total power fear and detest whatever they cannot understand and completely control. Thus, historians in the Soviet Union must rewrite history to suit the lords. The theory that total power gives total knowledge has led Stalin and his successors to intervene in every field of culture and thought. Their long-range aim is the total conquest of the world. Everything that the Soviet Government does is done in secret. Secrecy in government means that every communist government is neither more nor less than a conspiracy against its own people.

MJH  
(3) SEP 12 1956  
1 - Section tickler  
1 - Mr. Belmont

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10 SEP 6 1956

Book detached HJZ

Memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Third Key: The Worker in the Workers' State

The worker in the Soviet Union must accept without discussion or referendum, without negotiation or collective bargaining, the "ukazes" (decisions) of the Council of Peoples' Commissars. Nothing can change his position or status except an order of his superiors. These decrees are given little publicity abroad. By an "ukaz" of October 3, 1940, approximately a million young people between the ages of 14 and 17 were "called up" for industrial training. The youth mobilization "ukaz" reflects the total militarization of the daily life and labor of an entire people. Inevitably the militarization of industry and severe life has reacted in turn upon the structure of the Red Army. Taken together, these decrees added up to an extreme militarization of military life and made the Red Army, from the standpoint of hierarchical structure, absolute command, and internal discipline, the most rigidly organized large-scale army in the entire world.

Fourth Key: The Two Types of Election

I. The Most Democratic Elections in the World

The communist dictatorship has felt compelled to imitate many of the processes and the very terms that have emerged from centuries of struggle for democracy. A totalitarian dictatorship is deeply aware of its perpetual illegitimacy. Its minority seizure of power by force represents a rupture of the fabric of legitimacy.

II. The Other Election: Men Stake Their Lives

The other election is real, dangerous, illegal, and punishable by instant death or concentration camp. This is the election in which men can sometimes choose between communism and the uncertain freedom of the refugee and wanderer. In every communist land, men have made this choice. "They have voted," as Lenin said of the Russian peasant soldiers in World War I, "they have voted with their feet."

Fifth Key: The Kremlin as Ally and Neighbor

Poland lies in an open plain between Germany and Russia. Russia-Poland-Germany: that triangle of relationships is the heart of Europe. When there is sickness there, Europe is sick, and the peace and order existing there are a false order and false peace. The kind of Europe which will emerge from World War II is being determined. Poland has become the test for a normal and enduring peace.

So far, China's nationalism has been a benign nationalism, an awakening of national self-consciousness and the desire for national freedom. William Z. Foster told the Politburo of the American Communist Party in 1945, "On the international scale, the key task is to stop American intervention in

7 0 1

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

China... the war in China is the key to all problems on the international front." In China there is the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Tse-tung. The program of the Kuomintang remains, as in the past, the only force for the defense of the territorial integrity and independence and for the eventual democratization and reconstruction of China. The program of the Communist Party remains, as in the past, a program for Russian penetration, Russian partition, for the tying of China to a world drive for power, for the ultimate introduction of a police-state totalitarianism. In China, the tide must be turned if we wish to stop the spread of totalitarianism and aggressive imperialism, and if we wish to delay, and if possible prevent, the outbreak of another world war, in which the captive masses of Asia are joined to the captive masses of Europe in a "final" effort to overwhelm what is left of the non-totalitarian and democratic world.

Tito, Communist Party leader in Yugoslavia, is called the "puppy who is barking at the elephant" (Stalin). From Tito's communist camp come clear words of truth about Soviet imperialism and ruthlessness, which, when they come from communists, have more effectiveness. This is the true crack in the Kremlin wall of infallibility. Tito can anticipate Stalin's every move. He represents a struggle for the independence of his country against the Soviet empire.

#### Sixth Key: The Nature of Totalitarianism

The essence of the total state is that it aspires to be total. The totalitarian state seeks to penetrate every aspect of life, assume control of every interest, undertake systematic organization of every activity, convert every individual interest and activity and every social interest and activity into a state activity.

A review of Bureau files reflects that Bertram D. Wolfe was a member of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1929. He reportedly has been anticommunist since he broke with the Party. He has been the subject of an extensive investigation under the Voice of America program and the Federal Employees Security Program. (123-5791; 61-6050) He was subsequently employed as chief ideological adviser to the Voice of America.

RECOMMENDATION: None. This is for your information.

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
- Top left: "H. B. S." (likely H. Belmont)  
- Middle left: "W. C. S." (likely W. C. Sullivan)  
- Middle right: "M." (likely M. Belmont)  
- Bottom right: "A. H. B." (likely A. H. Belmont)

SAC SE

9/1/56

P  
1/1/56

WOLFE, BERT

Member, Central Committee and 1927 - 1939  
National Agitation-Propaganda Dept.,  
CP - USA. 1925 - 1931

SE 4

61-6480  
RECORDED

OCT 10 1956

64  
OCT 10 1956

[REDACTED]

DIRECTOR, FBI(100-3-74-34)

11/2/55

SAC, NEW YORK (100-81752sub23)

COMPROS-NEW YORK  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Rebuairtel 10/4/55, which authorized an interview with ABRAHAM HELLER and Bulet 10/18/55, authorizing interviews with BERTRAM WOLFE and JOSEPH FREEMAN.

It has been determined that HELLER has moved from his former residence and presently resides in Apartment 11D, 56 Seventh Avenue, NYC. Mr. DOBBS, Superintendent at 56 Seventh Avenue, who has previously been utilized as a source by the NYO, has advised that HELLER is presently away for an indefinite period, but that he is expected to return in the near future. DOBBS stated that he would immediately advise the NYO upon HELLER's return, at which time HELLER will be interviewed in accordance with Bureau instructions, as set out in referenced airtel.

Efforts are being made to interview JOSEPH FREEMAN and it is expected that this interview will be completed in the near future.

BERTRAM WOLFE, 68 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, was interviewed on 10/24/55, by SAS J.L. MARTIN and JAMES H. BRICKLEY, at which time he furnished the following information regarding International Publishers Co., Inc., and its relationship with publishing houses in Russia:

WOLFE stated that he has no personal knowledge of any agreement between International Publishers, Inc., and any corporation or person in Russia. He stated that International Publishers Co., Inc., was originally financed

RM

- 1 - Bureau(100-12584)(ABRAHAM HELLER)
- 1 - Bureau(100-287275)(JOSEPH FREEMAN)
- 1 - Bureau(61-6050)(ABRAHAM WOLFE)
- 1 - NY 100-7758(ABRAHAM HELLER)(12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-58657(JOSEPH FREEMAN)(12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-9078(BERTRAM WOLFE)(20-11)

JLM:MAI

16/11/55  
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Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752sub23

by A.A. HELLER. WOLFE related that HELLER was in the confidence of certain Russian leaders and was granted a business permit in Russia, from which he derived a substantial profit, which he used to finance International Publishers Co., Inc. WOLFE stated that he did not believe HELLER ever influenced the operation of International Publishers Co., Inc., from an editorial viewpoint.

Regarding material which was published by International Publishers, WOLFE stated that in the early days, it operated more or less as a free-lance publishing house, in that it published both Communist and non-Communist literature. WOLFE stated, however, that in about 1929, there was a change of policy and International Publishers Co., Inc., ceased to publish non-Communist literature, and ceased to employ anyone who was not a member of the CP. WOLFE related that shortly after he broke with the CP in 1929, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG hired him to do some translation which he was to do at home.

According to WOLFE, TRACHTENBERG advised him not to bring his manuscripts to the office of International Publishers, but to send them in by someone else. WOLFE stated that in accordance with TRACHTENBERG's instructions, he sent his manuscripts to the International Publishers Co., Inc., office, by his wife, for a short time. He stated, however, that this arrangement came to the attention of the Central Committee of the CP, and that TRACHTENBERG was told to cease his relationship with WOLFE or he would be under serious suspicion from Party leaders.

WOLFE related that it is his personal opinion that after the above change of policy in 1929, that Moscow dictated what was to be published by International Publishers Co., Inc., but that he has no evidence on which to base this opinion.

WOLFE stated that he does not desire to testify because of his literary position, but stated that he would testify if he felt that his testimony was imperative.

Letter to Director  
NY 100-81752sub23

The results of the above interview with WOLFE have been furnished to Special Assistant to the Attorney General David H. Harris by separate communication.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 20, 1957

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Bertram David Wolfe

The "New York Herald Tribune" of 3/19/57, carried an article entitled "Gates Expounds Red Politics on Columbia University Stage," which reflects that John Gates, editor of the "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, expounded his political views before an audience at Columbia University, New York City. Norman Thomas, socialist leader, and Bertram D. Wolfe shared the stage with Gates and received enthusiastic applause when they appeared to score debating points against Gates. The Director inquired, "What do we know of Bertram D. Wolfe?"

Bufiles reflect Bertram David Wolfe, born 1/19/96, Brooklyn, New York, was the subject of an Internal Security - R case in 1941 when his wife's name, Ella G. Wolfe (a CP member during the 1920's), appeared as a sponsor for a political refugee from Germany. He was investigated under the Voice of America (VOA) program in 1950 and rated "eligible on loyalty" for a position as chief ideological advisor with the VOA by the Loyalty Review Board on 8/2/51.

Wolfe was alleged to be a founder of the Workers Party, which later became the Communist Party, USA (CP), and a member from 1919 to 1929. He was director of the Workers School (a CP school in New York City), 1925-29; American delegate to the Executive Committee of the Sixth Communist International, Moscow, USSR; and national director of the Agitation Propaganda Department, CP, 1929. "The New York Times" of 8/15/29 reported that Jay Lovestone and his supporters, including Wolfe, were expelled from the CP for seeking to persuade American communists that the tactics of the Communist International in the U.S. were hopelessly wrong. Another reason for the expulsion was that Lovestone, Wolfe and Benjamin Gitlow left Moscow without permission after they had been summoned to explain their conduct.

In 1950 Benjamin Gitlow advised he felt Wolfe continued to be a pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist, but Lovestone and Louis Budenz advised they regarded Wolfe as a sincere anticommunist since his break with the CP.

A loyalty investigation on Wolfe was conducted in 1953, based on the statement of another employee of the VOA that Wolfe's writings

JJG:awj (6)

RECORDED-59

61 6050-28

\*Former CP member during 1920's.

- 1 - Boardman
- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - section 1057
- 1 - [unclear]

INDEXED-59

10 MAR 21 1957

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: BERTRAM D. WOLFE

were anti-Stalinist but appeared to be in sympathy with the basic communist philosophy of Marx and Lenin. In August, 1953, Charles M. Noone, former Bureau Agent and then Acting Chief, Office of Security, U.S. Information Agency (formerly VOA) advised copies of Wolfe's scripts had been reviewed and did not indicate Wolfe was procommunist. On 8/3/53 Fred Busbey, then Congressman from Illinois, expressed opposition to the employment of Wolfe by the Government in a speech before the House of Representatives. On 1/28/54 the Civil Service Commission advised Wolfe had been retained in his position; however, he resigned in February, 1954. (123-5791-56; 100-15252-41, p.177; 61-6050-11)

Wolfe was interviewed by Bureau Agents on 9/10/47 regarding his CP activities and furnished some information but was considered by the interviewing Agents as uncooperative and not to be trusted as a witness. (61-6050-24) On 10/24/55 he was reinterviewed and furnished information indicating communist domination of the International Publishing Company, cited as the official CP publishing house by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920 dated 5/11/48, p.80. He stated he did not desire to testify but would do so if he felt his testimony was imperative. (61-6050, November 2, 1955)

The Immigration and Naturalization Service advised in 1955 that it discontinued Wolfe as an informant because it was believed he had not cooperated to his fullest extent and had been reluctant to identify other contemporary CP functionaries. (61-6050-26)

Wolfe has written several books since 1926. His latest book is entitled "Six Keys to the Soviet System," which was reviewed in 1956 by the Central Research Section and found to be a documented study of the nature of totalitarianism which has reached its full development in Soviet Russia. (61-6050-27) He is the author of an article entitled "Marx on the Truman Doctrine," which was distributed by the Bureau to the field in 1954 in connection with the development of security informants. (100-3-99-1801)

ACTION:

None. For the Director's information.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "gnd", "gnd", "Q", "ss", "V", and a checkmark]*

newspaper article

# -Gates Expounds Red Politics On Columbia University Stage

By John G. Rogers

John Gates, editor of "The Daily Worker," forbidden last week to speak at any of the five city colleges, appeared for nearly two hours yesterday on a Columbia University platform and expounded his political views before a polite and orderly audience which made plain its anti-Communist sentiments.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, and Bertram D. Wolfe, author and student of Russian affairs, shared the stage of McMillan Theater with the forty-three-year-old Communist editor and received enthusiastic applause frequently when they appeared to score debating points against Mr. Gates.

## Asserts Aims

A man who served more than three years in prison on a Smith Act conviction, now regarded as a leader in the so-called new look of independence among American Communists, Mr. Gates insisted yesterday that the American Communist party is becoming more democratic, is not Russian-dictated, and is seeking to lead the country peacefully toward a Socialist Utopia.

Mr. Thomas and Mr. Wolfe were bluntly suspicious of such protestations and made clear in general their belief that American communism is still part of the pattern of Russian Communist imperialism aiming at world domination.

McMillan Theater seats 808 in the orchestra and 458 in the balcony. At the peak of yesterday's forum, sponsored by the

John Dewey Society of Columbia, the orchestra was nearly full and there was a scattering in the balcony. By far the majority were students, both men and women, in casual dress and carrying books.

## Issue Mentioned

The fact that there had been controversy over whether a Communist should be permitted to speak before a college audience was not greatly emphasized yesterday on the blue-curtained stage at Columbia.

Mr. Gates made several mentions of the issue. He used the term "Fearful Five" for the presidents of the city college who, after specific invitations to speak had been given him by student groups at City College and Queens College, agreed to ban him from all five campuses. Again, he said that by hearing him the Columbia audience had "struck a blow for the Bill of Rights." And satirically he referred to peaceful transition to socialism as the "sinister doctrine" he would have discussed at Queens and City Colleges.

## Controversy Avoided

Mr. Thomas referred to the issue only once. He said he regretted that he had to come to "an institution not supported by the public" to take part in the discussion with Mr. Gates, and then he drew a laugh when he said that this showed there was "some value in the competitive system."

Mr. Wolfe avoided mentioning the issue. Robert Nozick, treasurer of the John Dewey Society, did not mention the controversy

in his two brief appearances. Dr. James Gutman, chairman of the philosophy department at Columbia, the moderator, merely said that the late Mr. Dewey would have liked the idea that his name was associated with an occasion of free discussion.

After each of the three speakers gave his views in fifteen-minute talks, each had five minutes for rebuttal, and then there were questions from the audience. Many of the questions, in tone or content, demonstrated anti-Communist attitude, and all were aimed at Mr. Gates.

## Points in Reply

Among the points he made in reply:

Under American communism there would be other political parties "as long as the people so desire" but ultimately there would be no need for parties. Communists have contributed to American welfare in improvement of social security, Negro rights and growth of unions. He had never in any way received any instruction from Moscow. General experience and many events including the death of Stalin brought about change of mind and "democratization" of American Communists.

Mr. Gates twice ducked the specific matter of getting Russian troops out of Hungary. First, Mr. Thomas invited him to sign a petition requesting such a withdrawal. He countered by saying he would sign any petition for the withdrawal of all foreign troops—American or Russian—from Europe. Whereupon, Mr. Wolfe told Mr. Gates,

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

"If you are a free man, you will sign the (Thomas) petition."

Again, a questioner in the audience asked Mr. Gates what he thought of substituting Polish for Russian troops in Hungary. He repeated that all troops should get out of Europe.

By far the day's largest applause went to Mr. Wolfe when he ticked off the list of new-born countries receiving freedom through Western initiative since World War II, and then compared it with the list of countries which went under Russian domination since 1940. Seated at the rear of the stage, Mr. Gates did not look up during the applause.

The Communist editor is scheduled to speak at Columbia again today, at 3:15 p. m., in Harkness Theater, under auspices of the Eugene V. Debs Society of the university.

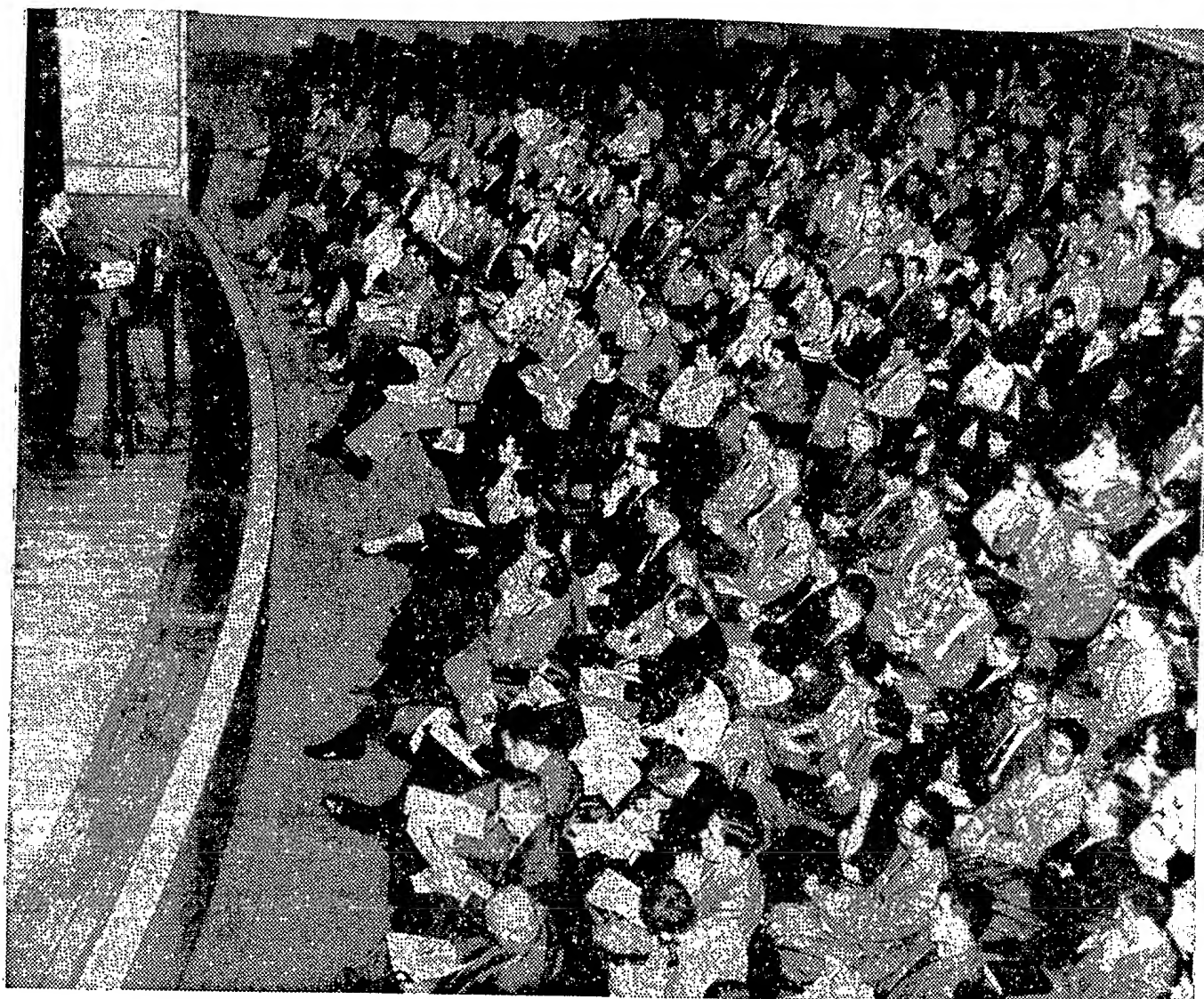
Wash. Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Journal- \_\_\_\_\_  
American \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

61-6050-28  
MAR 19 1957

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INDEXED-89

What do we know of  
Bertram D. Wolfe? K

newspaper article  
3-5-57  
336



COMMUNIST EDITOR AT COLUMBIA—There were some empty seats yesterday as John Gates, editor of "The Daily Worker," spoke at meeting in McMillin Theater sponsored by the John Dewey Society of the university.

Herald Tribune photo by Don Rice

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Journal- \_\_\_\_\_  
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N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
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N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

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MAR 19 1957

Date MAR 18 1957

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS

DATE: 3-5-57

FROM : L. E. SHORT

SUBJECT: BENJAMIN GITLOW  
Internal Security - C  
Bufile 61-1544BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
(61-6050) 15-RCommunist Party U. S. A.  
100-3-4

An indexing project has been completed involving documents furnished by Benjamin Gitlow covering his knowledge of the Communist Party U. S. A. in the 1920's and early 1930's. This material was furnished to the Bureau by the New York Office by letter dated 3-26-43 (100-3-4-1594). There are 2,675 documents involved.

For record purposes a copy of this memorandum will be placed in the main case file on 32 of the most prominent individuals mentioned in the documents. On each copy of this memorandum will be listed the document numbers on which the information concerning these prominent individuals appears. It is felt that this is necessary because it is not logical to add cross reference cards to our index today on such old material.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That the attached plastiplat be approved.
2. That each copy be routed to the pertinent section of the Domestic Intelligence Division for the interest of the substantive case supervisor.

LML:vk  
(32)

100-3-4-1594 Enclosure, Document Numbers: 35; 39; 40; 41; 45; 46; 51; 52; 55; 56; 57; 59; 60; 61; 63; 64; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 75; 77; 87; 104; 184; 187; 188; 189; 190; 256; 271; 280; 329; 680; 709; 795; 1022; 1124; 1125; 1234; 1704; 1715; 1973; 1974; 2127; 2239; 2241; 2245; 2267; 2269; 2277; 2291; 2297; 2512; 2524; 2525; 2536; 2610. page 2.

LW  
b3-0  
NOT RECORDED  
156 MAR 15 1957

MAR 25 1957

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# CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 61-6050  
(See also: 123-5791)

Date: 7/31/59

Subject:

Date Searched: 4/29/59

~~Bertram David Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~One Albright\*~~  
~~Al Albright~~  
~~Alfred Albright~~  
~~One Albright~~  
~~Albert Albright~~  
~~"Bertie"~~  
~~Bertram De Wolfe\*~~  
~~Albert Lovell~~  
~~One Shays~~  
~~Daniel Shays~~  
~~One Taylor\*~~  
~~L. Vargas~~  
~~Albert Ward~~  
~~B. D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bert Wolf~~  
~~Bertram Wolf~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolf~~

~~Bertram David Wolf~~  
~~Bertram L. Wolf~~  
~~Bertrand Wolf~~  
~~Bertram Wolf~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolf~~  
~~B. Wolfe~~  
~~B. D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bert Wolfe~~  
~~Bert D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram B. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertran Wolfe~~  
~~Bertran D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Davis Wolfe~~  
~~Bertand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand B. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrum Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~

\* Not searched

Found As:

B. 1-19-56, Brooklyn, N.Y.

~~Bertram David Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~  
~~Al Albright~~  
~~Alfred Albright~~  
~~One Albright~~  
~~Albert Albright~~  
~~Albert Lovell~~  
~~One Shays~~  
~~Daniel Shays~~  
~~L. Vargas~~  
~~Albert Ward~~  
~~B. D. Wolf~~  
~~Bert Wolf~~  
~~Bertram Wolf~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolf~~  
~~Bertram David Wolf~~  
~~Bertram L. Wolf~~  
~~Bertrand Wolf~~

~~Bertram Wolf~~  
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~~B. Wolfe~~  
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~~Bertram Wolfe~~  
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~~Bertram B. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertran D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram Davis Wolfe~~  
~~Bertand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrand D. Wolfe~~  
~~Bertrum Wolfe~~  
~~Bertram D. Wolfe~~

REC-111  
MCT

61-6050-29

SEP 3 1959

All identical references marked "A" on search slip.

SEP 10 1959

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved

MUC:11a

File 4/100

b6  
b7C

*Also Searched As:*

*A. Albright  
Dave Wolf  
David Wolf  
Bertram C. Wolfe  
D. Wolfe*

*Dave Wolfe  
David Wolfe  
Dave Wolff  
David Wolff*

*This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except those listed at the end of this summary as not having been reviewed, or those determined to contain the same information as the main file.*

*This summary is designed to furnish a synopsis of the information set out in each reference. In many cases the original serial will contain the information in much more detail.*

*THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.*

*ABBREVIATIONS*

*Additional information.....Additional information appearing in  
this reference which pertains to  
Bertram David Wolfe may be found in  
the main file or elsewhere in this  
summary.*

*SS.....Search Slip*

*SP.....Socialist Party*

*SWP.....Socialist Workers Party*

*WP.....Workers Party*

The "Proletarian News" of 6/1/35 carried an article entitled "Proletarian Party Fifteen Years Ago," which gave the following information.

The Michigan state organization was expelled from the SP of America. Subsequently the expelled group decided to organize a new party. In June, 1919. they sent delegates to the "Left-Wing Conference" held in NYC. That "conference" was dominated by confusionists who decided to capture the SP for "revolutionary socialism." The leaders of this group included Bertram Wolf.

100-693-288 p.3B  
(78)✓

The report of the HCUA on the left-wing section of the SP stated that a conference of the SP was held in NYC on 6/21/19. A national council of the left-wing section of the SP was chosen, with Bertram D. Wolfe as one of the members.

The HCUA report also stated that in 1920 Bertrand D. Wolfe appeared as a writer for "The Toiler," one of the first communist publications to appear in the US.

61-7582-1298 p.1039,1628  
(15)✓

*Jeannette Dorothy Pearl (subject of 100-74289) stated that during her CP activities (1905-1925) she became acquainted with leaders of the organization. She recalled among others Bertram D. Wolfe.*

*In the autobiography "I Confess" published in February, 1940, of Benjamin Gitlow, former General Secretary of the CP, he stated that Bertram D. Wolfe was a member of the city committee of 15 elected at the first Left Wing convention to carry on its work. (Locality not given)*

b7D

☐ protect identity)

100-74289-5

(25)✓

SI 100-155500-1

(26)✓(Files of Walter Steele)

*By letter dated 7/30/25 the Assistant Attorney General forwarded a copy of a communication from the Department of State which enclosed a letter from the Charge D' Affaires, Mexico City regarding the railroad situation in Mexico.*

*This letter referred to Bertrand Wolfe, who was stated to have been in Mexico for two years and who was active on behalf of communist agitation. Communist propaganda in the newspapers announced that certain Russian Bolsheviks were to be expelled from Mexico for activities similar to those in which Wolfe had been engaged.*

64-200-221-36

(53)✓

By letter of 8/8/25, the Department of State submitted a copy of a letter from the American Consul General at Mexico City which enclosed a copy of a memorandum prepared by Mr. Loring Olmsted, an American citizen registered in the Consulate General and residing at Calle Reforma No. 3, Atscapozalco, D.F., who was considered loyal to the US.

Mr. Olmsted alleged that they\* were sending north many prapagandists, one especially valuable one, being Wolfe. Mr. Olmsted advised that this referred to Bertrand Wolfe, whom he heard speak at the meeting of the communists on Igualdad Street on June 13, and who was well known in the US in connection with communist agitation in San Francisco and NY.

64-0-1875  
(52)✓

\* This appeared to refer to the Women's Congress, not further identified.

A letter received from Francis Ralston Welsh on 10/17/25 stated that Bertram D. Wolfe was a communist candidate for alderman from the 23rd aldermanic district in Brooklyn, NY, date not given.

Additional information.

61-105-170  
(9)✓

Correlator's note: Other serials in this file identify Francis Ralston Welsh as connected with Investment Bonds, 20 S. 15th St., Phila., Pa.

By letter dated 5/15/26 the Department of State forwarded a letter from the American Embassy at Mexico dated 4/7/26 concerning the activities of communist agencies in Mexico. The letter reported that Bertrand Wolf, who was expelled some months previously from Mexico, had been conducting communist agitation in Mexico through the "Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas," which had headquarters in Chicago, Ill. While in Mexico, Wolfe was the editor of a communist sheet called "El Machete," understood to be in direct relations with the Third Internationals.

64-200-221-41  
(83)✓

By letter dated 4/29/38 the NY Office forwarded a number of pamphlets, one of which was "The Workers Monthly" issue of July, 1926. Bertram D. Wolfe, prominently identified with the opposition, was as of 1926 a contributor to the above publication.

61-7559-2746X1  
(12)✓

In a signed statement, Theodore MacLean Switz (subject of 100-377452) stated that he taught in the Workers School in Newark, NJ approximately two months in 1927. He probably obtained this job through Bertram D. Wolfe, head of the Workers School in NY. Wolfe put Switz in touch with someone in Newark, where Switz gave one course in imperialism and one having to do with Marxist interpretation of current events. MacLean stated that Lucy Branham, an American girl who was interested in the Soviet Union, introduced him to Wolfe.

100-377452-30 p.8,22  
(30)✓

Hedi Massing (subject of 65-9940) advised that she and her husband, Julian Gumperz, returned to NY from San Francisco in 1927 and found many communist friends, including Bertrand Wolfe and his wife.

65-9940-41 p.4  
(56)✓

Lieutenant W. C. Reynolds of the NY PD advised that one of his undercover informants reported that Mrs. Wolfe was one of three women in charge of an office at 383 Madison Ave., NYC, on the door of which appeared the name "Tass." Mrs. Wolfe was the wife of Bertram D. Wolfe. (According to a newspaper account Wolfe denied Secretary of State Kellogg's charge that the communists had organized the Mexican movement against the US but admitted aiding the Anti-American projects).

This information appeared in a report dated 2/26/27.

61-6215-5  
(11)✓

\* EP

Confidential Informant [ ] received information from Bertram Wolfe to the effect that the Profintern had sent a communication to the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) and that it was advisable to call a Congress of all unions affiliated with the TUEL. The purpose was to create an organized communist movement in the Trade Unions to form a strong opposition to the A F of L.

This information appeared in a report dated 4/23/27.

61-818-738  
(52)✓

The August, 1949 issue of "Political Affairs" magazine carried an article entitled "Communication" written by Michael Salerno (subject of 100-334454). The article consisted mainly of Salerno's discussion of a series of letters exchanged between himself and Bertram D. Wolfe, who was editor of "The Communist." The exchange took place in 1928, and the discussion concerned the Mitchurinian principles of biology, which disputed the idea of heredity vs environment as a positive factor in the development of the human gene. As a Marxist, Salerno believed in the inheritance of acquired characters. (Further details set out)

100-334454-21  
(28)✓



*This reference, in a review of the history of the New York Workers School, referred to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe in his relationship with the school 1925 to 1929. At one time he was Director of the school and a member of the Advisory Council and the Executive Committee.*

*Additional information.*

100-155439-61  
(26)✓

A review of the book "I Confess," written by Benjamin Gitlow, General Secretary and member of the Political Committee of the American CP until removed in 1929, gave the following information.

Bertram D. Wolfe was the U.S. representative to the Comintern. He was assigned to go to Korea on Comintern business (date not given), however, he refused the assignment.

100-295935-74 p.50  
(28)✓

A letter dated 1/10/29 to the State Department made reference to previous communications concerning the All-American Anti-Imperialist League (subject of 61-6065). The following information which was received from Confidential Source  was set out.

b7D

After Emanuel Gometz was removed by the Workers (Communist) Party from his position in the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, the leadership of the League was given to B. Wolfe, of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party and Director of the Agitprop Department of the WP.

61-6065-53  
(58)✓

At a hearing of the US Senate, Committee of the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, held 10/13/52 in NYC, an article dated 3/11/29 was entered into the record. The article stated that at the sixth national convention of the CP, USA, the new central executive committee was elected. The membership of this committee included Bert Wolfe.

In the above hearing, Exhibit No. 23 was Chapter IV, entitled "The History of the Communist Movement in the NY City Schools" from the proceedings of the Rapp-Coudert legislative committee of NY State. This report stated that the Teachers Union of the City of NY, which gradually became communist infiltrated in the 1920's included Bertram D. Wolfe, the Party's leading American writer.

Additional information.

61-7558-596 p.249,343

(11/63)✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

61-167-2587

(58)✓

b7D

A letter from the Department of State dated 4/13/29 quoted the following passage from a letter sent by Max Bedacht to Bert Wolfe: "At the time of this writing, we have no news as yet whether or not one or more salesmen will visit our firm. Personally, I do not see much benefit out of salesmen."

It was noted that the term "salesman" obviously referred to representatives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

61-167-2593

(63)✓

The September, 1929 issue of "The Communist" contained an article entitled "The Struggle for the Comintern in America" by Leon Platt (subject of 100-34616). In this article Platt stated that contradiction of capitalism developed a sharp class struggle among the working class. Jay Lovestone, B.D. Wolf, and Benjamin Gitlow refused to see this change and organized an active opposition to the new course of the CP and the communist International, according to Platt.

100-34616-80 p.62

(89)✓

SI 100-34616-63

(89)✓

A summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau listing leading communist figures in various sections of the country as of August, 1936 included the following information.

Bertram Wolf was assistant "right hand" to Jay Lovestone of the CP Opposition and one of the main field workers. While in Mexico he worked to build up the CP Opposition indirectly while at the same time he was working with the Apparatus, the supposedly secret service organization of the Soviets.

61-7559-4X  
(77)✓

On 5/26/37 circulars were distributed outside of Carnegie Hall, NYC, which announced a talk by Bertram D. Wolfe on "Civil War in Spain" to be held on 5/27/37 at Center Hotel, NYC.

61-7559-1472  
(11)✓

By letter dated 4/1/54, Washington Field Office enclosed photographs and descriptive data secured from the State Department of some 600 persons who travelled to Russia in approximately 1930-1938. Some were Lenin School students and all were known or suspected communists.

A photograph of Bertram David Wolfe was included.

100-202838-176 pt. 1 p.18  
(3,9)✓

In relating the history and background of his life, Jay David Whittaker Chambers (subject of 74-1333) stated that in 1929 Stalin gained control of the CP in Russia, and of the International Communist organization. In achieving control of the American CP, Stalin backed the minority group as against the majority group, whose leaders included Jay Lovestone and Bertram Wolfe.

Chambers stated that during this period (1924-1938) the CP had one school known as the Workers' School. He recalled that Bertram Wolfe had considerable to do with this school and also that Wolfe held the position of National Agit-Prop Director of the CP.

74-1333-3220 p.252

(38) ✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

74-1333-3221 p.246

(38) ✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

100-18830-67

(41) ✓

SI to paragraph 1 above:

100-184255-336 p.6

(44) ✓

A summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau regarding Youth Committee Against War gave the following information taken from a pamphlet entitled "Must We Fight This War?" by Robert N. Kelso, Jr., issued by the Youth Committee Against War, 1707 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C.

*Continued on next page*

The American Youth Congress joined by the Youth Committee Against War, conducted a pilgrimage to Washington D.C. March 10-12, 1938. The Youth Committee presented a petition to President Roosevelt demanding reduction of armaments, armed forces, and plans for industrial mobilization. This petition was endorsed by a number of national figures, including Bertram D. Wolfe.

61-7567-98 p.9  
(15)✓

A catalog of the spring term, 1938, of the New Workers School to be held at New Workers' School Center, 131 West 33rd St., NYC, listed Bertram D. Wolfe as one of the instructors.

It was noted that this appeared to be a school conducted by the CP Opposition.

61-7559-2317  
(12)✓  
SI 61-7559-1836X12  
(Fall Term 1937)  
(60)✓

A report dated 5/2/38 from Robert M. gave the following information.

At the time of the CP Tenth Annual Convention in Madison Square Garden, NYC on 5/26/38, leaflets were distributed outside the entrance by the Independent Communist Labor League, which was the opposition of the CP. This faction was led by Bert Wolf and ran the New Workers School at 131 West 33rd St., NY.

61-7566-978  
(86)✓

Leaflets and registration card (source not given) for the Independent Labor League of America and the Independent Labor Institute for the fall term of 1938 listed Bertram D. Wolfe as an instructor in the course "The World in Books."

61-7562-190X  
(14)✓

The radical movement which was in opposition to the CP, USA, solicited support for Russell Blackwell, alias Negrete, through the Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, 100 Fifth Ave., NYC. A circular letter of 11/12/38 carried a number of names, including Bertram D. Wolfe, presumably as members of the above committee.

(NY Office Files)  
61-7559-3368.  
(12)✓

Information dated 3/28/41 at NY, NY obtained from an outside unknown source stated that James J. Cannon (subject of 100-159214), when expelled from the CP in 1939, joined the Trotskyits faction and stated publishing "The Militant" with the assistance of Bertram Wolfe.

100-159214-1  
(43)✓

A report from G-2 dated 6/21/55 stated that Alexander Guss (subject of 100-25195) named persons whom he knew to be members of the CP during the periods indicated. The list included the name of Bert Wolfe, member of Central Committee 1927-1939 and National Agitation - Propaganda Department, CP, USA.

100-25195-24  
(66)✓

The "DW" of 1/23/39 carried an article entitled "Lovestone Joins Moseley in Fascists' Drive on FDR's Defense Program." The article stated that Bertram D. Wolfe had joined the fascist chorus of assault on President Roosevelt's program of national defense against the fascist war menace.

61-7560-1167X  
(14)✓

Material which was obtained from the files of Walter Steele of the "National Republic" magazine contained a page entitled "International Relief Association" dated 5/15/39. This described the International Relief Association as an organization whose purpose was to get relief to victims of persecution. The American Committee was described as forwarding money to the International Treasury at Strasbourg, France. A list of members of the American Committee included the name of Bertram D. Wolfe.

94-3-4-501-77X  
(20)✓

*The State Department furnished material which it acquired when prosecuting Browder, et al, for fraud violations. The materials included a 1940 Photographic Album, which contained a photograph of Bertram David Wolfe.*

100-3-1838X encl p. A-3  
(3)✓

*On 12/9/49 INS, NYC, made available some material which was believed to refer to the State Department investigation into the fraudulent obtaining of passports by members of the CP. In the material was a "1940 Photographic Index" which included a list of names and photographs, including one of Bertram David Wolfe.*

40-3923-139 p.47 encl p.585 (Photo)  
(2)✓

*Memorandums furnished by Stott pertaining to Jay Lovestone and his group included the following information on Bertram D. Wolfe.*

*Wolfe was for years very active in the Independent Labor League of America, having followed Lovestone out of the CP. Wolfe and his wife spent almost a year in Russia during the 1920's, working in some government organization there. During the Spanish Civil War, he went to Spain to carry on work for the organization there. He made frequent trips to Mexico, often visited Diego Rivera, about whom he wrote a book. Wolfe was at one time a teacher in the public schools but lost his job because of his revolutionary activities. He taught a couple of years at the Erol Preparatory School in NY. He was opposed to American participation in the European war. At various times Wolfe and his wife gave haven to visiting revolutionists who came to this country. He often wrote for "Workers Age" under his own name.*

*The above information appeared in a memo dated 9/12/40.*

100-769-48  
(22)✓

*In a letter dated 9/25/40 Mrs. Rose V. S. Berry, 2536 Benvenue Ave., Berkeley, Calif., quoted a paragraph from Eugene Lyon's book, "Assignment in Utopia," concerning the Comintern Congress held from July 17 to Sept. 1, 1928 in Moscow. It stated that the American delegation included Bertram Wolfe.*

39-915-176  
(33)✓



*In a letter dated 8/17/40 on the letter head of Independent Committee for Thomas and Krueger, a list of national committee members included the name of Bertram D. Wolfe. Source of letter not given)*

*Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger were presidential and vice-presidential candidates, respectively, of the SP in the 1940 election.*

61-7559-10321X1

(13)✓

SI 61-10498-249

(17)✓

*A report from Stott on Bertram D. Wolfe gave the following information: Wolfe, at one time a moving spirit of the CP, was a writer of note and a friend of the Trotsky, Diego Rivera, the mural painter. Informant read a report handed in from Mexico in which it was stated that Wolfe and his wife were agents of the German government. Informant stated that Wolfe had always been one of the "problem children" of the Independent Labor League of America.*

*At a meeting of the Independent Labor League of America group on 11/27/40 a heated argument developed over the war question. A crisis was reached in which Wolfe was branded a German agent, and he resigned just ahead of being kicked out.*

100-769-496

(22)✓

SI to paragraph 3 above:

100-769-495

(22)✓

*The Rapp-Coudert Committee report, a report of the investigation of the public school system made in 1940-1941 by a NY State Legislative Committee, stated that a recommendation was made that offending left wingers be expelled from the Teachers Union. Specific charges were made against six union members, including Bertram D. Wolfe. Accordingly, a trial committee was set up to hear the evidence and report.*

100-38784-192

(25)✓

*Correlator's Note: The disposition of the charges against Wolfe was not given.*

On 9/13/56 [redacted] and  
(protect identity), [redacted] and  
former CP member, gave the following information concerning officers  
and executive board members of the Teachers Union of NYC for the  
period of 1930-1941. Informant did not know Bertram Wolfe to be a  
CP member during this period but recalled that Wolfe formally broke  
with the Party and joined the group who were followers of Jay Lovestone,  
a faction within the Teachers Union who consistently opposed the CP  
faction.

b7D

100-75957-107 p.3  
(43) ✓

On 3/9/41 Mr. Clarence L. Shaw of 716 East Jefferson St.,  
Wash., D.C. furnished a pamphlet which had been handed to him. The  
leaflet referred to the Washington Keep America Out of War Committee,  
affiliated with Keep America Out of War Congress, and carried a list  
of names of the Governing Committee of the Congress. The name of  
Bertrand D. Wolfe was listed.

WFO files revealed that information taken from the files of  
the Industrial Squad of the Chicago PD showed that Wolfe was on the  
Executive Committee, WP of America; Director of Agitation and Propaganda  
Department; Associate Editor of the "Revolutionary Age."

25-11631-7  
(54) ✓

On 3/19/43 the files in the office of the Director of  
Intelligence, 2nd Service Command, Governors Island, NY were reviewed.  
The file, Communist Suspects, under date of 3/25/41 contained a list  
of suspected communist fellow travelers. One entry stated that three  
individuals, including Francis Henson (subject of 100-58019) had a  
conference with Earl Browder on conditions of a merger of "Marxist  
Quarterly" with "Science and Society," a CP quarterly. Browder laid  
down the condition that Bert Wolfe was not to be an editor.

100-58019-26  
(67) ✓

The second National Anti-war Congress closed its session in the Sylvan Theater in Washington, D.C. on 6/1/41. The congress elected a governing committee of 42 members, including Bertram D. Wolfe.

61-10498-A "Washington Evening  
Star", 6/2/41  
(17)✓

On 7/30/41 an investigator of the Sheriff's Office, Riverside, Calif., reported the following information.

On the above date Frances Elkins (subject of 61-9568) was overheard to state that she personally knew Bertram D. Wolfe, author of "The Soviet Union in 1924." She stated that he was writing against communism for revenge and was working on a book exposing communism.

Additional information.

61-9568-2 p.13  
(17)✓

In the January, 1955 issue of "The Political Reporter," (subject of 65-61520) an article entitled, "The Old Stinkpots Are At It Again" by John Henry Monk, contained a paragraph which gave the following information.

In the late '30's and early '40's, the then new American Trotsky Communist Party-Majority, spearheaded by Jay Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe, and others, who were acting for the protocol setup of Zionism, brought into being Anti-Defamation League's first Hate Brigade in this country and moved against certain minority groups.

65-61520-5 p.62  
(38)✓

b7D

[redacted] (protect identity), advised [redacted]  
[redacted] the book "Whose Revolution?" for Irving Dewitt Talmadge (subject of 101-4483). Talmadge advised informant that according to his plan, a number of better known writers, including Bertram D. Wolfe, each submitted a chapter for this book. This was a method of presenting various viewpoints on communism, liberalism, and the like.

*This information appeared in a report dated 5/2/42.*

*Additional information.*

101-4483-5  
(30)✓

*A Postal Censorship form showed that Bertram D. Wolfe received a letter dated 10/31/42 from Julian Gomez, Victoria 104, Mexico, D. F. The Examiner's note stated that Gomez was Julian Gorkin, famous French writer, who was accused by the Stalinists of being a Nazi Agent. The writer appealed to the addressee to ask the Washington government to help obtain necessary authorization for his father to go to Mexico from France.*

64-2704-749  
(19)✓

*A confidential source advised that as of January, 1943, B. D. Wolfe was a subscriber to "The Militant" and "Fourth International," publications of the SWP.*

100-16-35-50  
(61)✓

(protect identity) suggested that perhaps Berthram D. Wolfe and his wife, Ella Wolfe, leaders in the CP who went to Mexico in 1919 to escape the Palmer Raids, would be able to furnish information concerning the activities of Louis C. Fraina (subject of 100-118061) in Mexico. They belonged to the same CP as did Fraina, were excellent friends, and had the same political opinions.

b7D

*Inasmuch as Bertram and Ella Wolfe were former leading members of the CP and subjects of a NY case file, it was deemed inadvisable to interview them concerning Fraina.*

*This information appeared in a reference dated 4/3/43.*

100-118061-28  
(26)✓

A Postal Censorship intercept revealed that in November, 1943 Marceau Pivert (subject of 61-8404) wrote in a letter to Octavio Briquard, a French industrialist who was active in communist affairs, that Bertram Wolfe was a collaborator on "Call", a new Socialist publication in the US.

61-8404-143  
(36)✓

A Censorship report indicated that a letter dated 12/1/43, return address Bertram D. Wolfe, was written to Hilda Patrick Winslow, Hotel Geneve, 7 de Londres, 130, Mexico, D. F. The letter was apparently written by Ella Wolfe. She advised addressee of some people to contact. There was enclosed a chart designed by a representative of the censorship as an analysis of the relationship of individuals living at Luis Moya 19, Mexico, D. F. This chart showed Ella and Bert Wolfe as known contacts of Hilda Winslow Patrick and Frances Toor.

65-43302-3525  
(19,65)✓

It was reported that Marceau Pivert of France and Gustav Regler of Germany, along with many others, were carrying on anti-American, British, and Russian propaganda in Mexico and Latin America. It was also reported that the above men were connected with the powerful Trotsky machine in the US, which included Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman, Sydney Hook, Bertram D. Wolfe, and George Sokolsky.

(NY Office files, 4/8/44)

64-532-221-4

(18)✓

SI 64-2701-1322 (Military Attache,  
Mexico)

(19)✓

SI 61-5381-1244

(11)✓

SI 100-36676-9 (

(25)✓

SI 100-36676-7

SI 100-268519-8

(27)✓

b7D

An article which appeared in the "New World" of 6/22/44 entitled "Peace Now Move" reflected a letter written to the mayor and city council of Seattle, Wash. The letter called attention to various individuals alleged to be Trotskyites and stated that Bertram Wolf was expelled from the communist movement many years ago because of his Fascist and reactionary connections. Instant letter was signed by the president and the secretary of Washington State CPA.

100-12997-47  
(78)✓

b7D

[redacted] advised that a meeting of the CPA was held on 7/27/44 at the Dorie Miller Hall, Seattle, Wash. Members present were urged to write the Machinists' Local and protest the Local, allowing such "Fascists" as Bertram Wolfe to speak. A member explained that Wolfe was a German spy and that he had been expelled from Russia prior to the war.

100-26921-21  
(42)✓

This reference dated 8/28/44 referred to the activities of the National Council of American - Soviet Friendship, Inc. (subject of 100-146964) regarding Bertram Wolfe. In July, 1944 Wolfe gave lectures in the San Francisco area on subjects in which the Russian government's international relations and internal policies figured. These lectures were opposed by the CPA and National Maritime Union. Those who opposed Wolfe endeavored to interrupt his lectures in every way possible.

100-146964-302 p.26  
(43)✓

On 7/25/44, while a guest at the Clark Hotel, Martin Temple (subject of 64-22166) made a long distance telephone call to Bert Wolfe at the Cecil Hotel, San Francisco. (Source not given)

Bertram D. Wolfe was a guest at the Cecil Hotel from 7/17/44 to 8/9/44. [redacted] protect identity)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b7D

[redacted] reported that Wolfe was on a speaking tour of the Pacific Coast in July and August, 1944. Informants advised that Local communists attempted to interfere with his lectures. [redacted] stated that the National Maritime Union sent letters to different groups in an attempt to have Wolfe's lectures cancelled. [redacted] and [redacted] stated that in an attempt to discredit Wolfe, the CPA sent members to his lectures to ask embarrassing questions.

Additional information.

64-22166-60  
(19,37,65)  
SI to paragraph 1 above  
64-22166-53  
(87)✓ [redacted]

protect identity)

On 7/17/44, [redacted] advised that at a meeting at CP headquarters on 7/14/44, Carl Reeve, Secretary, 12th District, CPA, gave an address which dealt with the Trotskyites. He stated that Bertram Wolfe was a Trotskyite and a traitor to the CP.

On 9/2/44, [redacted] advised that a Workers School sponsored by the CPA was held at CP headquarters on 8/30/44 at which Reeve gave a lecture on Trotskyism. He said that a group of Lovestonites, including Bertram Wolfe, were kicked out of the Party in 1928.

b7D

100-16-51-70  
(40)✓  
SI to paragraph 2 above  
100-12997-48 [redacted]  
(41)✓

A copy of an Office of Strategic Services letter dated 10/30/44 discussed a new bulletin "Russian Affairs." The publication was issued in the name of the Institute for Russian Studies of the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, NY, organized by Bertram D. Wolfe, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, and by two members of the right wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

100-7826-29  
(23)✓  
SI 100-335069-2  
(84)✓ [redacted]  
SI 100-335069-1  
(46)✓ [redacted]

b7D

A report dated 11/16/44 from the Office of Strategic Services entitled, "American Socialists Organize to Counter Communist Committee for Spain" contained the following information.

American socialists connected with the "New Leader" in NY took the initiative in forming a committee in support of the Spanish Republic as a counter-move to the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, recently organized under communist inspiration. A meeting of the Socialist committee was attended by editors of the "New Leader" and a few others, including Bertram Wolfe, editor of the Menshevik magazine "Russian Affairs." This group was staunchly anti-communist.

100-332851-7  
(45) ✓

The "DW" of 11/22/44 carried an article entitled "Willing Recruits for Hitler's New Volkssturm" which told of a forum in the Rand School\* in which Bertram Wolfe participated. Wolfe stated that Russia was a police state and that insofar as a durable peace was concerned, "Russia and England are a decisive, negative factor."

61-952-A, "DW" 11/22/44  
(34) ✓

\*NRC, serial 9

A Postal Censorship form showed that Mr. and Mrs. Bertram Wolfe received a communication dated 12/7/44 from F. Blum ("Frankie"), c/o J. C. Ferron, Banco De Comercio, S.A., Mexico, D. F. The letter stated that the writer, on a visit in Mexico City, contacted Martin Temple (subject of 64-22166-55) regarding an art exhibit. Examiner's note stated that Wolfe had frequently received news items from Marceau Pivert about Socialism.

64-22166-55  
(3,37) ✓  
SI 62-62736-1-537  
(37) ✓  
SI 62-62736-2-18425  
(37) ✓



A Postal Censorship report showed that Marceau Pivert (subject of 61-8404) received a mimeographed paper signed "Tresca Memorial Committee." This leaflet announced a mass memorial meeting for Carlo Tresca, the assassinated Italian radical leader, on 1/11/45. Enclosed was a press release dated 12/13/44 covering the same subject. Under the heading "Preliminary Committee" the communication gave a list of names, including Bertram D. Wolfe.

61-8404-160  
(16)✓

b7D

[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted]  
Chicago, an original member of the CP in Chicago in 1919, advised in 1945 that Bertram D. Wolfe should be in a position to give information concerning Ralph Bowmann (subject of 100-258542). According to the Informant, Wolfe currently was in NYC writing for the "Nation" and "Republic." Informant alleged that Wolfe was opposed to the CPA, and in 1928 he was a US representative to the Comintern and was thrown out of the CP.

100-258542-28  
(27)✓

A Censorship report showed that Ella and Bert Wolfe received a communication dated 2/6/45 from Martin Temple (subject of 64-22166), Mexico. Writer suggested that addressees join him on some of his trips to the beautiful country where he was at that time.

64-22166-58  
(87)✓  
SI 62-62736-2-17619  
(87)✓

The "DW" dated 4/22/45 carried an article entitled "Anti-Soviet Gang Unites in Letter to Times on Poland." This article contained a synopsis of a "NY Times" editorial which editorial condemned the Polish Provisional Government (subject of 100-330600). The editorial was signed by a group of authors, including Bertram D. Wolfe. The "DW" article in turn condemned the signers of the "NY Times" editorial individually, stating that Wolfe, a Trotskyite, did nothing but snipe at the USSR.

100-330600-255  
(28)✓

On 7/14/45, [ ] advised that he recently heard Ignacy Morowski, editor of the NYC Polish language newspaper "Nowy-Swiat," make the statement that certain American writers were presently on the payroll of the Polish American Congress (subject of 100-290700). Morowski named Bertram D. Wolfe as a recipient of money from the Congress.

100-290700-127

(28)✓

SI 100-290700-122

(28)✓

A booklet dated October, 1945 entitled "Who Killed Carlo Tresca?" (subject of 61-1335) contained an article attributed to the Tresca Memorial Committee. Bertram D. Wolfe was listed on this committee.

61-1335-396X

(10)✓

SI 61-1335-392

(10)✓

According to a report dated 11/6/46, Bertram Wolf was interviewed (date not given) regarding the activities of Ralph Bowman (subject of 100-258542), whose picture he identified as Rudy Baker. Wolf stated he knew very little about Baker, but he gave the name of Barney Herman, who could possibly furnish information on Baker.

*Additional information.*

100-258542-84

(79)✓

SI 100-258542-52

(45) (Additional information)

SI 100-258542-57

(45) (Additional information)

SI 100-258542-64

(45) (Additional information)

In a letter dated 12/12/46, Hugh G. Morrison, Box 0, Mays Landing, NJ, wrote in detail of his experiences with radical organizations. He wrote of the CP Opposition, later known as the International Communist Labor League, of which one of the prominent figures was Bertram Wolf. Morrison went to the organization headquarters occasionally to hear Wolf lecture on Diego Rivera and his adventures in Spain during the revolution.

100-348285-1  
(79)✓

On 7/22/47 Louis F. Budenz (subject of 100-63) advised that he felt the Bureau should see Bertram D. Wolfe for information on the history of the CP. Budenz stated that Wolfe was at one time head of the Workers School in NY and might have in his possession a private library of CP publications.

100-63-245  
(22)✓

Liston Oak, Labor Editor, International Broadcasting Division, State Department, advised that Johanna Carl Sarason (subject of 123-6516) advised him that in 1947 and 1948 she traveled to Mexico. While in Mexico she saw several Social Democrats, including Bertram Wolfe.

123-6516-8  
(47)✓

On 1/21/49 the NY Office requested Bureau advice as to whether Bertram and Ella Wolfe should be interviewed for information in the case of Jay David Whittaker Chambers.

By reply teletype dated 1/24/49, the Bureau granted authority to interview these individuals.

74-1338-1248  
(38)✓

A reference in the indices of the NY Office indicated that Bertram D. Wolfe was a subscriber to "The Militant" newspaper.

This information appeared in a report dated 2/1/49.

Additional information.

100-352628-22  
(29,61)✓

On 7/14/54, M. M. Witherspoon, 71 West 23rd St., NYC, advised that he first came to know Paulo D. Lysenko (subject of 100-360649) through Bertram D. Wolf some time in the spring of 1949. Lysenko arrived in the US from Russia 5/30/49. According to Witherspoon, Wolf was a friend of Sheba Strunsky, who was associated with the International Rescue Committee which handled the Lysenko case. Because of Witherspoon's extensive contacts, Wolf felt that he might be in a position to assert Strunsky in placing Lysenko in employment.

100-360649-33  
(82)✓

By letter dated 7/25/49 the San Francisco Office requested permission to interview Bertram D. Wolfe, who was associated with the SWP and other front organizations. Wolfe was as of July, 1949 attached to Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.

100-233970-119  
(27)✓

The "Palo Alto, California News" for 2/21/50 reported that Bertram D. Wolfe was to speak on the following day on the subject "Stalin, the Man, His Methods, and His Place in History." The article described Wolfe as a biographer of Stalin and indicated that he was speaking from personal observation. This article mentioned that Wolfe was at one time director of Russia's Tass News Bureau in Latin America and attended the World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, where he met Stalin, Trotsky, Molotov, and other Russian leaders. It indicated that he lectured and studied in Russia as well as in Mexico and throughout the US.

A reference in the San Francisco files indicated that in 1940 Wolfe spoke on behalf of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party.

*In view of the above information, the San Francisco Office requested advice regarding advisability of interviewing [redacted]*

*By letter dated 4/10/50, the Bureau advised that an interview was not desired.*

b7D

*Additional information.*

66-2542-3-47-2832  
(19)✓

*Bertram Wolfe advised [redacted] (protect identity) that he recalled Emmeruch Lustig (subject of 100-7166) as a member of the Hungarian Federation or Bureau of the CP, as a student in the Workers School of the CP, and as a follower of the Lovestonite Group of the Party in 1926-1928. Wolfe declined to testify concerning Emmeruch Lustig.*

*This information appeared in a report dated 4/5/50.*

100-7166-38 p.23,24  
(40)✓

*Bertram Wolfe was given as a reference by Charles Malamuth (subject of 123-7827). Wolfe advised that he met Malamuth about 1941, and the following year the families visited. About 1950 Wolfe asked Malamuth to apply for a job with the Voice of America, inasmuch as he was a good translator. He recommended Malamuth as to loyalty and character.*

*This information appeared in a report dated 3/3/51.*

123-7827-39  
(4,47)✓

*In 1951 Bertram D. Wolfe, Chief of the Ideological Talks Unit, International Broadcasting Division State Department, 150 West 57th St., NY, NY, informed that he first met Joseph Gordon in 1924 or 1928 in Moscow, Russia, when both were representatives of their countries at a conference. At that time Wolfe represented the CP of the US and Gordon represented the CP of Czechoslovakia.*

65-58681-54 p.25  
(19)✓  
SI 123-7048-14  
(31)✓

In 1952 [redacted]

[redacted] (protect identity) advised that in his opinion the policy direction of Edwin Martin John Kretzmann, of Voice of America (VOA) (subject of 65-62257) was influenced by Bertram Wolfe, also of VOA. Informant felt Wolfe believed that Leninism or Trotskyism was preferable to Stalinism and that he endeavored to convince the Russian people that a return to pre-Stalin government would be beneficial to them.

Mr. Alfred Puhon, Program Manager, VOA, advised that he believed Bertram Wolfe would sometimes submit ideas which were not anti-communist, and he recalled that on Lenin's anniversary some material submitted by Wolfe praised Lenin.

Additional information.

65-62257-4 p.28  
(38)

Bertram D. Wolfe was listed as a reference by Richard Strunsky (subject of 123-12595). Wolfe recommended Strunsky without reservation for a position of trust and confidence with the US government.

The above information appeared in a report dated 1/11/52.

Additional information.

123-12595-21 p.19,20  
(31,47)✓

On 2/23/52 Jay Lovestone (subject of 61-1292) stated that he had spoken with Bert Wolfe, who was interested in obtaining an unidentified report.

In a conversation between Arnold Beitsman, believed to be a union official, and Lovestone, it was mentioned that Bert Wolfe was connected with the American Committee for Cultural Freedom.

(NY-600-S\*)  
61-1292-320 p.11,24  
(77,86)✓

In the book "Witness" by Whittaker Chambers (subject of 74-1333), the author stated that staff members of the "DW" signed a petition asking that the editor, J. Louis Engdahl, be removed. Speaking through its national Chief of Propaganda and Agitation, Bertram D. Wolfe, the Party sternly informed the insurgents that the petition was not permissible and that Engdahl must remain as editor.

The above book was enclosed with a letter dated 4/25/52.

74-1333-5274 p.233  
(19)✓  
SI 74-1333-4785, Part 4 p.65  
(19)✓

Information furnished by CIA contained a report regarding Japan dated 12/28/52. This report referred to a magazine, "Under the Flag of Liberty," a Japanese publication. The November issue carried an item written by Bert Wolfe, translated from "Foreign Affairs." Wolfe was described as "The leading representative (formerly) of the Bukharinite group inside the Central Committee of the CP, USA."

61-1292-437X p.124  
(63)✓

100-7964-82  
(40)✓

In an interview at the American Embassy, Belgrade, on 5/19/55, Edwin Martin John Kretzmann (subject of 65-62257) advised that while he was policy advisor in the Voice of America, 1950-1953, he knew Bertram Wolfe, Chief of the Ideological Unit. A Mr. Kohler and a Mr. Puhon requested that Wolfe be added to the staff as an expert on communism as they felt he was a dedicated anti-communist. Kretzmann worked closely with Wolfe, felt that there could not have been a better man for the job, and he thought Wolfe wrote very effective anti-communist propaganda.

65-62257-15  
(38)✓

A list of the principal personalities named by James Leigh White (subject of 123-7646) during an interrogation as reported by CIA included the name of Bertram C. Wolfe. White stated that he was probably in contact with Wolfe in 1937.

A parenth<sup>et</sup>ical notation of information from the Security files of CIA stated that the above Wolfe may or may not be identical with Bertram D. Wolfe, who was active in the CP from 1919 to 1929, when he was expelled. While in the CP he was in charge of a caucus at the 1922 CP convention, a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the CP, and in 1929 was in Moscow as a representative of the CP USA to the comintern. In 1953 he was employed by the Voice of America. Since leaving the CP, he was reported to be anti-communist in his views.

123-7646-43 enc p.17,145  
(Not indexed)

The "Workers Age" of 5/1/34 contained an article written by Bertram D. Wolfe, entitled "Communist Movement and Its Defense in Answer to Earl Browder." The article stated that one of the aims of the CP of the Opposition was to re-unite the CP and the Communist International.



Robert M. advised that in May, 1938 he visited the offices of the "Workers Age" in NYC and observed pictures of Marx, Stalin, Lenin, Trotsky and Bertram Wolfe in prominence there.

Bertram D. Wolfe, named as a reference by Milton Sandor Mautner (subject of 121-40676), advised that he had known Mautner since about 1935, when he worked for the "Workers Age," which was printed by the Independent Labor League, successor to the CP of the Opposition. Wolfe advised that he was active in these organizations, which were anti-communist.

This information appeared in a report dated 1/2/53.

Additional information.

121-40676-9

(46)✓

SI to paragraph 1 above;

140-13263-12

(32)✓

On 1/27/53 Joseph Zack Kornfeder, former member of the CP, advised that Bert Wolf was the official representative on the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Communist International from the end of 1928 to the end of 1929. He added that he "positively resented" the fact that Bert Wolf was employed by the US government.

61-10149-2750

(86)✓

Mr. Joseph Walsh, Regional Security Officer, US Information Agency, 250 West 57th St., NYC, advised on 3/22/54 that material appearing in the "Life" magazine articles of Alexander Orlov (subject of 105-22869) of April, 1953 were used by the US Information Agency in broadcasts. Later a script prepared by Bertram D. Wolfe, based upon the "Life" magazine articles, entitled "A Chief of the NKVD Confesses," was broadcast in nine languages.

105-22869-186 p.27

(30)✓

On 4/3/53 Dr. John T. Cocutz furnished information regarding the loyalty of members of Voice of America personnel, including Bertram Wolfe. Cocutz believed that the persons mentioned, judging from their writings and comments, were sympathetic toward Marxism. These ideas were probably fostered through the influence of Wolfe as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff.

123-10756-22  
(31,47)

Mrs. Alice Widener made available a copy of a letter dated 5/3/53 which she forwarded to a Mr. Hawkins, who represented the Senate Investigating Sub-Committee in Washington, D.C., concerning her observations while employed at the Voice of America. In relating her impressions, Mrs. Widener stated that it was her professional opinion that the Features Unit, in which she worked, was staffed with a queer assortment of people. She stated that Bertram Wolfe, the special Ideological Adviser, had written both communist and anti-communist books.

121-43847-22  
(46)

Liston Oak, Labor News Editor, International Broadcasting Division, (Voice of America), advised on 12/2/53 that prior to 1929 Bertram D. Wolfe was Educational Director for the CP in NY State, that he defeated in 1929, and since 1929 was known as anti-communist.

According to an article in the "Brooklyn Eagle," 5/30/48, Bertram D. Wolfe was one of the founders of the American CP. Wolfe had free access to the Kremlin and came to know personally most of the top Soviet leaders.

ONI advised that in 1929 Wolfe was Educational Director of the CP.

On 12-2-53, Wolfe was interviewed at 1775 Broadway NYC and was unable to identify a picture of John Cushing Varney (subject of 105-17233). Wolfe reminded that he had several connections with the CP in 1929.

105-17233-31  
(30)

On 12/6/53, [ ] made available information from a conversation between Jay Lovestone (subject of 61-1292) and Arnold (Beichman) concerning one Bert, believed to be Bertram Wolfe, a contact of Lovestone. Lovestone informed Arnold concerning the development in "Bert's Case." He referred to a memo wherein charges were filed against Bert that he withheld information from the government about his membership in the CPO in filing his application. It was noted that CPO possibly referred to the CP Opposition, which was believed to be the original name of the group organized by Lovestone after he was expelled from the CP.

61-1292-578  
(34,63)

The "NY World Telegram and Sun" of 2/12/54 contained an article entitled "'Voice' Official Quits After McCarthy Quiz." The article reflected that Bertram D. Wolfe had resigned as chief of the Ideological Advisory staff. The article stated that Wolfe's name came up when Senator McCarthy asked one of Mr. Wolfe's superiors during the investigation if he knew that Wolfe was a communist in 1929. Wolfe's superior, Edmund Kretzman, replied that Wolfe had been staunchly anti-communist since 1929 and was one of the most effective people the Voice of America had.

140-0-2347  
(4,31)

[redacted] (protect identity),  
advised that he never knew Joaquin Maurin personally but did know of him. He stated that Bertrand Wolfe knew Maurin well. b7D

[redacted] advised on 10/14/53 that Maurin at the time of his departure from Spain in 1947 was reported to have indicated his intention of joining a Socialist Party, denying his Trotskyite opinions.

This information appeared in a reference dated 3/19/54.

65-58681-49 p.5,12  
(53)✓

In reference to a suggestion in a WFO letter of 4/5/54 that Bertrand Wolfe be interviewed regarding Frank Jellinek, (subject of 65-28762) NY letter of 4/26/54 advised that Wolfe was not being interviewed. It was noted that Wolfe was expelled from the CP in 1929 and would not likely be aware of the present CP activities of Jellinek.

65-28762-37  
(37)✓

[redacted] who made available the issues of "New Leader" magazine of 10/11/54 and 11/29/54, stated that this was a non-official publication of a Socialist group in the US. b7D

The issue of 10/11/54 of "New Leader" contained an article by Bertram D. Wolfe entitled "The Strange Case of Diego Rivera." The article set out the fact that Wolfe had been a member of the CP of Mexico with Rivera, who had left the Party and come back in on two occasions. The article discussed the psychological reasons for Rivera's attachment to the CP.

77-25210-28  
(20)✓

The "NY Herald Tribune" of 11/16/54 carried an article entitled "Red Fighters Elect." The article stated that The American Committee for Cultural Freedom, an organization dedicated to active opposition of communism and all other forms of totalitarianism, announced the election of five officers to its executive committee. One of the new officers was Bertram D. Wolfe.

100-115040-A "NY Herald Tribune"  
11/16/54  
(26)✓

On 4/15/55 Bertram Wolfe advised that the name of Chi Chao-Ting was furnished to him in his capacity as director of agitation and propaganda of the CP. Wolfe recalled making a two-week speaking tour with Chi which took them through the Midwest addressing rallies which had been arranged by local WP organizations built around the theme "Hands Off China." According to Wolfe, in 1929 he travelled to Moscow and by chance met Chi on the street and they had lunch together.

Wolfe stated that while he was generally acquainted with the career and writings of Owen Lattimore (subject of 100-24628), he had no first hand knowledge of his activities or sympathies.

100-24628-6594  
(42)✓

On 10/24/55 [redacted] (protect identity) was interviewed. b7D  
He stated that the International Publishers Company, Inc. (IPC) was originally financed by A. A. Heller (subject of 100-12584). Informant related that Heller, in the confidence of certain Russian leaders, was granted a business permit in Russia from which he derived a substantial profit, which he used to finance IPC. Informant stated that he did not believe Heller ever influenced the operation of IPC from an editorial viewpoint.

100-12584-97  
(41)✓  
SI 100-135569-79 p.4  
(26)✓

On 1/16/56, [redacted]  
(protect identity) advised that Philip E. Mosely (subject of 105-31418)  
had been extremely cordial to Bertram D. Wolfe over the years. Mosely  
invited Wolfe to participate in the Council on Foreign Relations.

b7D

105-31418-17 enc p.18  
(30)✓

The following information was received on 12/5/56 from Bureau  
Informant [redacted]

"Jay and I went to dine with Elly Brochowitz 27 October, 1956.  
Bert and Ella Wolfe were there. I asked Elly (when she happened to  
speak of being in a concentration camp in France) if she knew a certain  
Mrs. Gova. What she told me adds and confirms my suspicion that she  
is a French agent."

A pencilled notation stated that this information was  
furnished to informant by Louise Page Morris.

Dr. Sabina Gova is subject of file 65-32711.

65-32711-17  
(65)✓

On 11/19/56 Jay Lovestone advised in regard to the International Publishers, Inc. (subject of 100-135569) and Labor Research Association, Inc. that, during his period in the CP, both organizations were directly subject to the Party's Agitprop Department, headed by Bertram D. Wolfe. Lovestone suggested that Wolfe be contacted for information relative to these organizations.

100-135569-113  
(26,43)✓

On 12/5/56 Departmental Attorney of the Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, interviewed Bertram D. Wolfe concerning the Labor Research Association, Incorporated (subject of 100-35102). Wolfe stated that while he was chairman of the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the CP during 1927-1929, he was assisted by Benjamin Davidson, who he thought would be willing to furnish information regarding Labor Research Association. He also suggested a contact with David Saposs for information regarding this organization.

100-35102-135  
(25)✓

On 5/22/57 Bertram Wolfe was interviewed. He advised that he was an author, researcher, and former member of the CP (opposition) which became the Independent Communist Labor League, then the Independent Labor League (Lovestonites). He stated he was a former member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in 1928 and 1929 and also served in Moscow. He was also editor of "The Communist." From 1919 to 1922 he was a member of the CP in various capacities.

Wolfe advised that "Novy Mir" was the official organ of the Russian Federation of the American CP. Wolfe sat as a member of the Board of the Russian Federation although unable to speak or understand Russian. As an official of the Party, Wolfe knew "Novy Mir" to be the official Russian language organ of the CP. As the Agitprop Director of the CP, Wolfe furnished articles to the magazine.

Additional information.

100-39588-87 p.2,7,8,9  
(42)✓

The following reference is a Tesur Log and therefore is not being abstracted:

Reference #

65-30092-1707

Search Slip page #

84 ✓

The following references in the file captioned CP, USA, pertain to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe, former member of the Central Executive Committee of the CP, during his membership and as a speaker and writer after his expulsion from the CP in 1929:

Reference #

Search Slip page #

100-3-2086

(20) ✓

100-3-4-21

(20) ✓

100-3-14-2676

(39) ✓

100-3-20-366

(21) ✓

100-3-20-374

(39) ✓

100-3-20-375

(21, 39) ✓

100-3-20-379

(39) ✓

100-3-20-901 enc p.662

(39) ✓

100-3-21-161

(39) ✓

100-3-21-168

(21) ✓

100-3-23-487

(39) ✓

100-3-23-488

(39) ✓

100-3-23-490

(40) ✓

100-3-14-170X12 p.87

(21) ✓

100-3-4-1594 enc p.3, 137, 144, 187, 195, 201, 219, 259, 282, 296, 309, 322, 378, 379, 396, 424, 441, 508, 629, 641, 642, 836, 920, 961, 991, 1076, 1091, 1103, 1104, 1249, 1272, 1275, 1532, 1543, 1544, 1596, 1603, 1629, 1630, 1643, 1669, 1745, 1747, 1748, 1750, 1754, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1771, 1912, 2063, 2698, 3004

(20, 59, 66) ✓



*The following references in the file captioned CP, USA, pertain to the CP activities of Bertram D. Wolfe in the categories set out below:*

Reference #

Search Slip page #

Brief

100-3-74-119	(21) ✓
100-3-74-890	(6) ✓
100-3-74-912	(40) ✓
100-3-74-814	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1269 enc p.8 Appendix A, enc. p.83; Index Pt. I, Part II	(22,40) ✓
100-3-74-914	(40) ✓
100-3-74-920	(4) ✓
100-3-74-931	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1117	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1121	(21) ✓
100-3-74-1194 p.9	(66) ✓
100-3-74-1195 enc p.43,55	(22) ✓
100-3-74-1397	(80,87) ✓
100-3-74-2961	(87) ✓
100-3-74-5191 p.25	(40) ✓

The following references pertain to individuals listed in column 1 below who recommended that Bertram Wolfe be interviewed concerning the activities of various individuals who were subjects of file references set out below:

<u>Individual</u>	<u>File #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>	<u>Subject of file reference</u>
Paul Crouch	100-233970-98X	(27) ✓	Rudolph Shohan
Joseph Zack Kornfeder	100-41393-173	(42) ✓	Gertrude Johanna Haessler
Harry M. Wicks	106-3202-34	(81) ✓	Philip Aronberg
Ben Mandel	100-363963-93	(30) ✓	Milton Berg
Nathaniel Weyl	65-28762-35	(37) ✓	Frank Jellinek

*Additional information.*

The following references pertain to HCUA hearings on Un-American propaganda activities during which witnesses submitted exhibits which contained information concerning Bertram D. Wolfe.

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>	<u>Witness</u>	<u>Date</u>
Dies Committee Report Vol. #1, p.603,630,631	(8) ✓	Walter S. Steele	8/16/38
Dies Committee Report Vol. #4, p.2613	(8) ✓	Sam Baron	11/23/38
Dies Committee Report Vol. #11, p.6865,6867,6873,6874,6880,7127,7129,7142,7143,7145	(8) ✓	Dr. Henry R. Linville; Jay Lovestone	11/2/39 12/2/39
Dies Committee Report Appendix #1, p.460,463,464,891,893	(7) ✓	Jay Lovestone The "Communist" of September, 1929	12/2/39
Dies Committee Report Vol. #7, p.4745	(8) ✓	Benjamin Gitlow	9/9/39
Fish Committee Report Vol. #2, Pt. 1, p.18,19,23	(8) ✓	Walter S. Steele	6/18/30
62-23170-146, p.16	(18) ✓	Walter J. Peterson	10/6/30

The following references pertain to the Third National Convention of the CP of America which was held August 17-August 21, 1922, at Bridgman, Michigan. Bertram Wolfe, as Al Allbright, alias Shays, attended.

<u>Reference Number</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
61-443-342	(103) ✓
338 p.4	(95, 103) ✓
375 p.6	(103) ✓
508	(104) ✓
642 p.2,3	(104) ✓
726	(93) ✓
828	(93) ✓
921	(95) ✓
368	(103) ✓
409	(103) ✓
61-817-467	(104) ✓
61-228-104 p.2	(103) ✓

The following references pertain to correspondence between Marceau Pivert, a French Socialist in Mexico, and Bertram D. Wolfe:

<u>Serial #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
61-8404-23	(63) ✓
28	(63) ✓
29	(63) ✓
34	(36) ✓
77	(63) ✓
89	(64) ✓
90	(64) ✓
96	(64) ✓
97	(16, 64) ✓

61-8404-100

(64) ✓

61-8404-101

(16) ✓

61-8404-105

(64) ✓

61-8404-110

(64) ✓

61-8404-111

(64) ✓

61-8404-116

(64) ✓

61-8404-151

(16, 64) ✓

61-8404-184

(64) ✓

61-8404-187

(65) ✓

61-8404-189

(36, 65) ✓

61-8404-216

(65) ✓

100-203581-2394

(67) ✓

100-178944-3

(67) ✓

100-223723-1

(67) ✓

62-62736-2-17602

(87) ✓

61-1335-289

(86) ✓

*The following references pertain to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe in connection with the Keep America Out of War Committee or Congress. He was a member of the Governing Committee.*

Reference #

Search Slip page #

61-7559-2442

(48) ✓

61-7559-7597X2

(13) ✓

61-7559-6703

(12) ✓

61-7559-11173 p.4,6

(13, 36) ✓

61-7558-148X6

(35) ✓

61-10123-18

(36) ✓

61-7608-5

(16) ✓

61-10689-29

(17) ✓

61-10689-13 p.4,6

(17,36) ✓

61-10689-30

(37) ✓

61-10689-2X

(17) ✓

61-10689-5

(17) ✓

61-10689-5X

(17) ✓

61-7559-4773X5

(12) ✓

100-118061-2

(26) ✓

100-23462-8

(57) ✓

*The following references in the file captioned Jay Lovestone, file # 61-1292, refer to the association of Bertram Wolfe with Lovestone while both were within the CP and after their expulsion from the Party.*

Serial #

Search Slip page #

51

(34) ✓

70

(10) ✓

238

(3,10,34,63) ✓

295 enc p.23

(34) ✓

339 enc. p.20,25,12

(10,60) ✓

628

(34) ✓

992 p.13,14,25

(34) ✓

850

(34) ✓

807

(34) ✓

401, enc. p. 21,24, 105, 106

(34,60) ✓

The following references in the file captioned CP, USA, Registration Act, file number 61-7590, pertain to the activities of Bertram D. Wolfe, formerly a member of the Central Executive Committee of the CP, who was expelled from the Party in 1929.

<u>Serial #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
39 p.43	(15) ✓
95	(15) ✓
128	(15) ✓
171	(15) ✓
173X	(15) ✓
201	(15) ✓
276	(3, 16) ✓
561	(16) ✓
523	(16) ✓

The following references pertain to articles and pamphlets written by Bertram D. Wolfe. Publication <sup>and date</sup> set out when given.

<u>Title of Article</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip page #</u>
Introduction to "The Russian Revolution" by Rosa Luxemburg		61-7559-2-2032	(13) ✓
"Marx on the Truman Doctrine"	"The New Leader" 3/19/51	61-7559-2-7145	(80) ✓
"Economics of Present Day Capitalism"		61-7559-2-4136	(14) ✓
"Marxian Economics"		61-7559-2-4135	(14) ✓

Introduction to  
"The Truth About the  
Barcelona Events" by  
Lamba

61-7559-1578

(11) ✓

"Keep America Out  
of War," "A Program"

61-7559-5672

(12) ✓

"What is the Communist  
Opposition?"

61-7559-11533 p.4,5

(13) ✓

"Class Struggle or  
Commodity Struggle"

"The Communist"  
Sept., 1921 or  
its predecessor  
"The Workers Monthly"

61-7559-3508

(12, 101) ✓

"Problems of Party  
Training"

June, 1926

~~(12, 101)~~

"Whose Revolution  
Is It?"

July, 1926

~~(12, 101)~~

"A Program for the  
Period of Prosperity"

July-August, 1927

A Review "The Economics July-August, 1927  
of the coupon clipper"

"Eastman Revises Marx  
and Corrects Lenin"

November, 1927

"Atheism and  
Evolution"

March, 1928

"Pacifism and War"

May, 1928

"The Right Danger  
in the Comintern"

December, 1928

"Selling the Russians  
Short"

61-7242-A  
"New Leader"  
3/26/49

(11) ✓

Introduction to  
"The Truth About the  
Barcelona Events," by  
Lambda

61-7561-2-50

(14) ✓

"Civil War in Spain"

61-7561-2-255

(14) ✓

"Revolution in Latin  
America"

61-7562-2-851

(14) ✓

"Class Struggle or  
Commodity Struggle"

"The Communist"  
Sept., 1921

61-34-29 p.11

(101) ✓

Review of "Russia is  
No Riddle" by Edmund  
Stevens

"NY Times"  
4/22/45

61-8297-36 p.13

(16) ✓

"Marx on the Truman  
Doctrine"

64-211-A "New  
Leader" 3/19/51

(18) ✓

Review of book "Talk  
About Russia" by Pearl  
S. Buck

"The New Leader"  
2/9/46

64-200-232-143

(18) ✓

"Workers Rallying  
Against Fascisti  
Revolt in Mexico"

62-23170-149 p.484

(18) ✓

"How the Communists  
Black Out the Facts"

61-5124-A "The New  
Leader" 11/30/53

(10) ✓

"Marx on the Truman  
Doctrine"

"The New Leader"  
3/19/51

100-3-99-1801

(22) ✓

Translation and  
introduction to "The  
Russian Revolution"  
by Rosa Luxemburg

100-13758-64  
Changed to  
100-3-4-64

(23) ✓

Co-author of "Lenin,  
the American Working-  
class and Its Party"

"The Workers  
Monthly" Feb., 1926 100-20187-59

(24) ✓

Works-unnamed

Workers Library 100-24621-12  
Publishers (subject  
of 100-24621)

(24) ✓

(Title not given-  
historical appraisal  
of Bolshevism)

100-383236-7  
vol. 3, encl p.5

(46) ✓

"Six Keys to the  
Soviet System"

Bureau Library

(2) ✓



"Keep America  
Out of War"

Bureau Library

(8) ✓

Co-author "The  
Marxists' Reply  
to Carey"

"The Nation"  
3/9/40

100-17826-657

(24) ✓

The following references pertain to lectures given by  
Bertram D. Wolfe which were sponsored by the organizations listed:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Reference #</u>	<u>Search Slip</u> <u>page #</u>
Forum Policy Association Forum, Syracuse, NY	100-7888-135 p.28	(57) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-8231-20	(23) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-12868-24	(23) ✓
(Organization not given)	100-12049-20	(78) ✓
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Phila., Pa.	100-7660-1989	(81) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-18619-22	(41) ✓
Northwest Institute of International Relations, Portland, Oregon	100-998-40	(23) ✓
Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, Calif.	100-17139-93	(41) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-15375-22	(23, 41) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-20351-49	(24) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-33049-50-13	(25) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-67226-28	(42) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-66887-12	(25) ✓

<i>Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-70409-19	(42) ✓
<i>Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-132686-8	(43) ✓
<i>A peace group, not further identified</i>	100-121145-51	(43) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-120818-1694	(43) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-113159-32	(55) ✓
<i>Jewish Community Center, NY</i>	100-146964-416	(78) ✓
<i>American Friends Society, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-195217-6	(27) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-170969-8	(26) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) San Francisco, Calif.</i>	100-214312-45	(79) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-206155-7	(44) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) San Francisco, Calif.</i>	100-203581-3702 p.35,440	(44) ✓
<i>Mills College, Oakland, Calif.</i>	100-203581-2837	(79) ✓
<i>Mills College, Oakland, Calif.</i>	100-200162-4	(78) ✓
<i>American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-202425-16	(27) ✓
<i>Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-202534-191	(44) ✓
<i>American Friends Committee, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-254116-18	(45) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-275197-2	(27) ✓
<i>Insitiute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-264170-14	(45) ✓
<i>(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash.</i>	100-258735-7	(27) ✓

(Organization not given) San Francisco, Calif.	100-334143-1	(46) ✓
Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, Calif.	100-334143-6	(46) ✓
Jewish Community Center, San Francisco, Calif.	100-334143-15	(46) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-330822-2	(51) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-308095-5	(45) ✓
Northwest Institute of Inter- national Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-325114-1	(45) ✓
Society of Friends, Seattle, Wash.	100-347280-1	(29) ✓
Society of Friends, Seattle, Wash.	100-347172-1	(28) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-336002-9	(28) ✓
(At Roosevelt Junior High School), San Francisco, Calif.	100-360159-5	(29) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-357025-1	(29) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-421112-9	(50) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	124-6596-14	(47) ✓
American Friends Committee, Seattle, Wash.	101-6118-4	(54) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-168180-12	(44) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	100-168153-9	(44) ✓
(Organization not given) Meeting held at Plymouth Church, Seattle, Wash.	100-110609-20	(25) ✓

(Organization not given) Seattle, Wash. and San Francisco, Calif.	100-353453-1 enc p.416	(29) ✓
American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.	61-777-50-47	(33) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Seattle, Wash.	100-211943-12	(44) ✓
Institute of International Relations, Los Angeles, Calif. (Additional information)	61-4674-A "Peoples World" 7/1/44	(10) ✓
Anti-totalitarian Liberals, NY	100-356137-A "New Leader" 3/26/49	(29) ✓
Antioch Institute of International Relations, Yellow Springs, <u>Ohio</u>	100-0-A "Washington Post" 7/13/47	(39) ✓
Polish American Congress, NYC, NY	65-40955-162	(38) ✓
Independent Labor League of America, NY	61-7559-3653X11	(12) ✓
Howard University, Wash., D.C.	61-7525-3	(35) ✓
Mills College, Oakland, Calif.	65-51593-33, p.866	(78) ✓
Mills College, Oakland, Calif.	100-17139-89	(78) ✓
League for Industrial Democracy, NYC	61-524-87 enc p.15	(80) ✓

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following reference was not available during the time this summary was being prepared:

Reference #

100-352546-152

Search Slip page #

(29) ✓

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. If the source or informant is different, it will be noted on the search slip.

1 - Mr. Smith

January 11, 1962

Mr. Edgar Downing  
Post Office Box 981  
Long Beach 1, California

Dear Mr. Downing:

Your letter dated January 7, 1962, has been received, and the interest which prompted your communicating with me is appreciated.

A regulation of the Department of Justice prohibits the disclosure of information in our files to other than appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. I am precluded, therefore, from furnishing the information you requested. You should not, however, infer that our files do or do not contain information concerning the matter you mentioned.

Inasmuch as your inquiry relates to appearances before the Committee on Un-American Activities, you may wish to communicate directly with the Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.

I am enclosing some material which may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosures (3)

WLS:pw (3)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JAN 11 3 59 PM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

FBI - JUSTICE  
REC'D - CIVILIAN

JAN 11 4 08 PM '62

10 1962

Mr. Edgar Downing

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent is apparently identical with Edgar Downing, 147 East Ocean Boulevard, Long Beach 2, California, who wrote to the Bureau on November 12, 1958, and furnished information he considered to be of interest. His letter was acknowledged and he was thanked for forwarding this information.

Correspondent requested to be advised when Berthram D. Wolfe came forward and gave "Un-American Activities Committee" information as to his communist activities and named communists.

Bertram David Wolfe, born January 19, 1896, was allegedly the founder of the Workers Party which later became the Communist Party, USA. He was expelled from the Communist Party along with Jay Lovestone in 1929. He was described in 1950 by Benjamin Gitlow as a pro-Russian Marxist-Leninist; however, Mr. Lovestone and Louis Budenz advised they regarded Wolfe as a sincere anticommunist since his break with the Communist Party. Wolfe served in the Voice of America Program from approximately 1950 until February, 1954. Bureau Agents interviewed Wolfe on several occasions between 1947 and 1957 at which times he cooperated in various degrees. He also served

until sometime in 1955. There are numerous references listed to his name in the House Committee on Un-American Activities accumulated indexes; therefore, it is believed correspondent should be referred to that Committee. Wolfe has written several books and articles and has made numerous speeches against communism. (61-60376, 123-5771)

The following material was sent to the correspondent:

1. "The Communist Party Line."
2. "The Faith to be Free."
3. Director's Statement Dated April 17, 1961, Regarding Internal Security.

TRUE COPY

Jan. 7th, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Dept of Justice Bldg.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

Mr. Berthram D. Wolfe, (author of = "Three Who Made a Revolution") gave a speech at the "Cold War Seminar" at Ft. McNair, Washington D. C. in July, 1959.

Mr. Berthram D. Wolfe was an American delegate of Communist Party for two years and attended the Lenin School in Moscow.

Would like to know when Berthram D. Wolfe came forward and gave the Un-American Activities Committee information as to his Communist activities and named persons who were in the Communist Party. What government book can furnish me this information?

Would appreciate hearing from you soon.

Thank you very much. I remain

Yours truly

/s/ Edgar Downing  
P. O. Box 981  
Long Beach 1  
California

REC-8

EX 104

61-6050-30  
8 JAN 12 1962

(Critical from [unclear])  
CORRESPONDENCE

TRUE COPY



Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U.S. Dept of Justice Bldg.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

Mr. Berthram L. Wolfe, (author of:  
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July, 1959.

Mr. Berthram L. Wolfe was an  
American delegate of Communist  
party for two years and attended  
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Berthram L. Wolfe came forward  
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Committee information as to his

Communist activities and named  
persons who were in the Communist  
Party. What government book can  
FOR  
WFO  
1-11-62  
WLS/p

CORRESPONDENCE

furnish me this information?

would appreciate hearing  
from you soon.

Thank you very much. I  
remain

Yours truly

Edgar Downing

P.O. Box 981

Long Beach 1

California

<u>Localities</u>	<u>Pages</u>
NY	4
Mexico	5
Calif.	6
Russia	28
Spain	15
D.C.	18
Michigan	40
Washington	48
Ohio	49

*BERTRAM DAVID WOLFE*

61-6050

11-3

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)  
(ATT: RESEARCH SATELLITE SECTION)

DATE: 8/26/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-87235)

SUBJECT: "STRANGE COMMUNISTS I HAVE KNOWN"  
by BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
BOOK REVIEWS

ReBulet 3/15/65.

Submitted is one copy of captioned book.

*m/f F. Row*  
*3/7/71 F. Row*  
*6221 DB*

*Note: No Enclosure  
attached when  
in case of  
time better  
1965*

REC-15

61-650-31

25 AUG 27 1965

2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc-1)  
1 - New York (41)  
EKD:IM  
(3)

*1 ENCLOSURE in library  
Bureau  
9/17/65 m/f*

*By [signature]  
629-1-12*

RESEARCH SATELLITE SECTION



110  
1 SEP 17 1965

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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Wide Wide World of Books

## Their Banners Were Faith and Vision, But Revolution Failed Intellectuals

The book is titled *Strange Communists I Have Known* (Stein & Day; 222 pages; \$6), and author Bertram D. Wolfe contradicts the title in the introduction. Historian Wolfe concedes that 5 of the subjects of his 10 studies are known to him only by research.

No matter. Mr. Wolfe set out to present portraits of 10 intellectuals who were

drawn to communism by its twin visions of equality and service to mankind, and has done so with keen insight and great sympathy. It isn't surprising. This book is essentially about people — most of them minor actors in the drama of the Russian Revolution and its subplots in other countries — who endowed the Bolshevik cause with the substance of their own dreams. And Bertram Wolfe, in his youth, was one of them. The stories of their faith and, in most cases, their disillusionment are the stories of his as well. And they are fascinating stories.

Particularly illuminating are the Wolfean portraits of:

✓ John Reed, the sensitive Greenwich Village intellectual from Harvard, whose search for meaning drew him to Russia as a correspondent during the 1917 revolution. Adventurous, romantic, perpetually immature, Reed offered the most brilliant eyewitness reporting the revolution produced, in Mr. Wolfe's view, but his belief in the holiness of the conflict closed his eyes to the atrocities committed in its name. John Reed ultimately died in Moscow of typhus, having "understood less and misunderstood more" than most.

✓ Rosa Luxemburg, the frail, deformed idealist, who insisted to Lenin that "freedom only for supporters of the government is no freedom at all." The leading theoretician in European communism during World War I, she was murdered by reactionary Prussian officers before she saw the flame of her faith in freedom extinguished by the Bolsheviks.

✓ Inessa Armand, the charming and refined aristocrat who renounced family and fortune at the age of 30 to devote her life to the revolution. As a confidante of Lenin she was privy to many Kremlin secrets, and represented the Soviet leader at several international conferences. Turning detective, Mr. Wolfe produces extracts from correspondence between Lenin and Inessa in an attempt to prove that she was not only Lenin's adviser but also his mistress.

As a biographical historian, Brooklyn-born Mr. Wolfe has few peers. His 1948 study, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, captured the flavor of revolutionary Russia, and offered vivid profiles of Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky as they plotted their road to Communist victory. And in *Strange Communists* Mr. Wolfe again demonstrates he's a keen observer of human psychology.

To be sure, there are flaws in the book, apparently the result of hasty preparation: On page 91, for instance, Mr. Wolfe records Lenin as opposed to World War I, and on page 124 as welcoming the conflict. But Mr. Wolfe nonetheless is a consummate storyteller, particularly when the stories he's telling are of those who shared with him for a time the giddiness of youthful idealism fulfilled. One feels a sense of pathos when he recounts the experiences of Angelica Balabanoff, who, in a way, typifies the old European Bolsheviks who are still alive. Now in her 80s, this onetime first secretary of Lenin's Communist International lives alone in Spartan surroundings in Italy. "She is too honest with herself," says Mr. Wolfe, "not to realize that her dream has failed to come true, that the lowly and humble to whom she has given her life" are now too proud and too prosperous to be concerned with Communist-style redemption.

—MARK R. ARNOLD



Mr. Wolfe

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

200/11

R. W. SMITH

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Baltimore Sun \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

AUG 16 1965

REC 25

61-6050-A  
NOT RECORDED  
167 SEP 1965

SEP 8 1965

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 16

Page 3 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 4 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 5 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 6 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 7 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 8 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 9 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 12 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 13 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 14 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 15 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 35 ~ Duplicate page 26

Page 37 ~ Duplicate to pages 27-29

Page 38 ~ Duplicate to pages 27-29

Page 39 ~ Duplicate to pages 27-29

Page 40 ~ Duplicate to page 30